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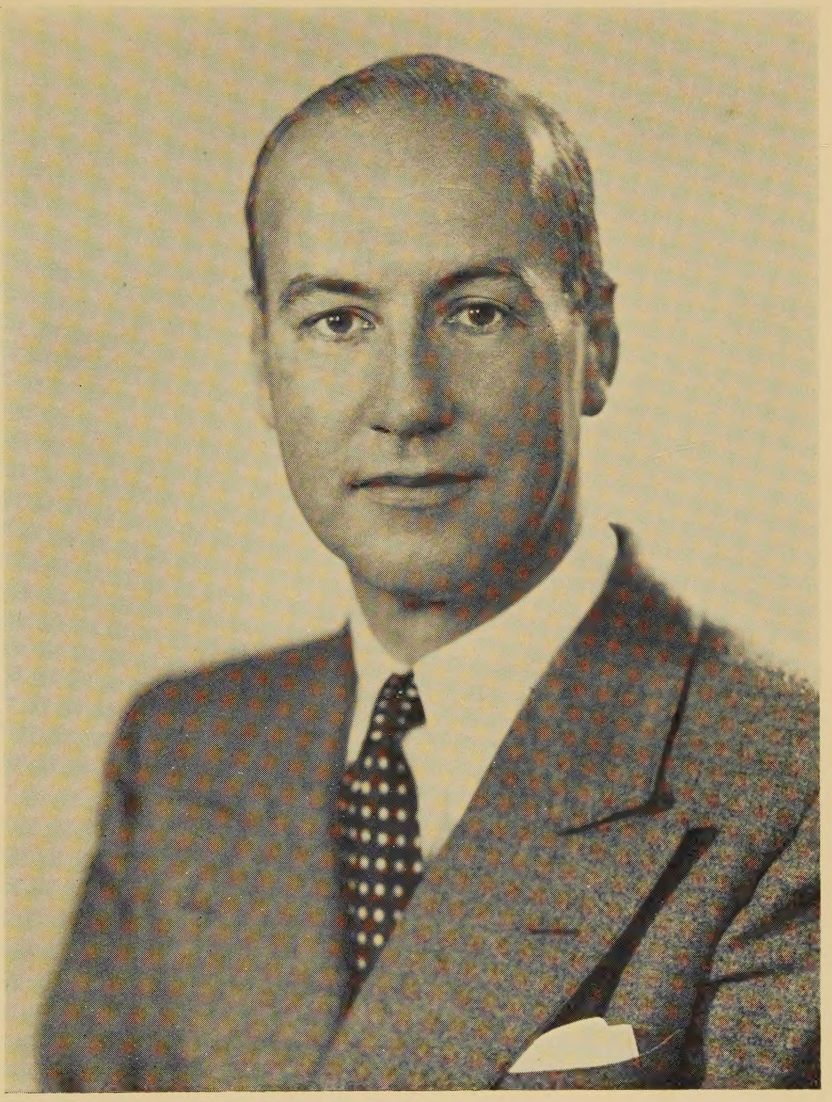

ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR., WHO WAS APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA BY ITS DIRECTORS AT A SPECIAL MEETING ON OCTOBER 17, 1949. (SEE PAGE 246).

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, retiring president of the Shakespeare Association of America, who has been named honorary president by the board of directors.

DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH

IN HIS letter printed in this issue Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, because of illness, tenders his resignation as president of the Shakespeare Association of America. Dr. Rosenbach became president of this society at a special meeting of the Board of Directors on April 28, 1934 succeeding the late Dr. Ashley Horace Thorndike of Columbia University.

Dr. Rosenbach's deep interest in the whole range of English literature, and particularly the Elizabethan period, fitted him for this leadership. From his youth, he brilliantly identified himself with Shakespearean culture. His first publication on the subject was "The Influence of Spanish Literature in Elizabethan and Stuart Drama", which was presented in June 1901 to the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania for his degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

It was soon after this that he succeeded his late uncle in the rare book business. His career has been meteoric and unmatched in the history of collecting and selling rare books and manuscripts. Today his collection of Shakespeare quartos is the only great collection remaining in private ownership and his set of Folios in original bindings is very nearly matchless.

Through the years he has been a guiding genius in the formation of many of the famous private collections and associated in the growth of the foremost public libraries in America. His knowledge and influence were of great service to Henry C. Folger in forming the Folger Shakespeare Library, which today is the richest and most inclusive library in the world. His purchases of the celebrated collections of Shakespeare and Shakespeareana, formed by Marsden J. Perry, Lord Holford, The Earl of Caledon, Lord Aldenham, William A. White, and Sir Israel Gollancz, have found their way into distinguished collections of America and brought the heritage of Shakespeare close to the American people. To these may be added the

names of Beverly Chew, Henry E. Huntington, Robert Hoe and Eldridge Johnson, and Joseph and Harry Widener.

For more than fifteen years, Dr. Rosenbach has repeatedly given his time, energy, and financial assistance to our Association; and the new President and Directors are looking forward to drawing upon his expert advice as scholar, collector, and bibliophile during the years to come.

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. Becomes New President of The Shakespeare Association of America

In Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. a vigorous new leader has been found. While a student at Harvard University, he started the formation of one of the finest collections of rare books ever assembled in this country, which includes superb copies of the four Folios of Shakespeare and of his Poems (1640). He is the donor of the Houghton Library to Harvard and has given to it his great collection of books and manuscripts of John Keats. He has served as Curator of Rare Books of the Library of Congress and is at present, among his many other activities, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Advisory Counsel of the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Library Committee of the New York Public Library and the Counsel of the Grolier Club in New York City. As President of Steuben Glass, Inc. and a director of Corning Glass Co., he is one of the business leaders of the country. His sincere interest in the progress of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc. augurs well for its future.

AN ASPECT OF SHAKESPEAREAN STUDY

By Hardin Craig

THE historical method or point of view in the study of the past is very ancient and has always been used by the greatest historians, scholars, and fiction writers. It may be described as the interpretation of past ages in their own terms rather than ours. The historical point of view has no doubt been sharpened and rendered more conscious by critics of historical methodology in recent times, and it has sometimes operated as a stimulus, if not a shock. About the beginning of the present century a group of Shakespearean critics, headed by Professor E. E. Stoll in the United States and by Professor L. L. Schücking in Germany, accused Shakespeare critics of the sin of anachronism and proved their point. The proponents of the nineteenth-century critical tradition offered defenses and claimed the liberty of interpretation, which, with some increase in responsibility to fact, they continue to enjoy. Book-reviewers, general readers, and the most popular authors of books on Shakespeare never learned about this conflict of scholars and continued and still continue on their anachronistic way. They often think of Shakespeare as if he had lived yesterday. Because of the breadth of his humanity and the catholicity of his interests Shakespeare suffers surprisingly little from this kind of interpretation, and the offense of anachronism in his case may be described as venial. The stage, following the ideal of what is called "good theater," has adhered, as a whole, very firmly to tradition, and it is the rare exception rather than the rule for any stage-director to attempt to interpret Shakespeare according to Shakespeare's own manifest meanings and intentions. The late Harley Granville-Barker and some other men of the theatre have taken the trouble to learn the truth about Shakespeare and have brought liberal scholarship into the theater. It is interesting to observe that their efforts have met with success with the public, a fact which seems to show that Shakespeare's own meaning is not only richer but more interesting than any other meaning which may be suggested by his plays. Whatever may be the state of the general public and the stage with reference to the interpretation of Shakespeare,

it is certain that most learned interpreters of Shakespeare in this age are careful to avoid anachronism and usually devote themselves assiduously to the task said to have been described by the late Professor G. L. Kittredge as "finding out what Shakespeare said and what he meant when he said it."

The historical method has been applied mainly in a negative way to the interpretation of Shakespeare. I should like to inquire in this paper if it is not possible to apply it in a somewhat more positive way.

Beginning with Bacon and Descartes in the seventeenth century a new philosophy made its appearance in the modern world. Its most characteristic feature was an absolute distinction between mind and matter, and this philosophy gave rise gradually to what is known as the scientific method. It led into the age of reason, but it was essentially a revolt against rationalism. In the end it gave little enough room for what had long been known as the realm of the spirit, which, cut away from the natural world, was, so to speak, left to get along as best it could with its traditional and sometimes outworked devices. The progress of the new philosophy was slow, and, as many of us know, large parts of our literate public and their children are completely ignorant of the processes of scientific thinking. Many important persons, Dr. Johnson for example, have rejected Cartesianism in toto. They have preferred and still prefer the more natural and more rational procedures of the pre-Cartesian ages. Nevertheless, as time has gone on, the scientific method and the philosophy which underlies it have spread themselves throughout the world of the intellect and have become the only acceptable method in the search for truth. They have made their way into the realm of plans and procedures, transformed the system of our education, affected deeply the relation between man and man. Science has done this mainly by its epistemology, that is, its grounds of knowledge with reference to the validity of knowledge. The scientific age, following Descartes, admits only two bases of knowledge and conviction of truth in the human mind, namely, conclusions derived from the examination of the data of the senses and the truth of mathematics. The modern practical world, going far further than any true scientist ever went, has more and more come to a point where it admits no ascertainable truth except on these two bases. Even Kantian idealism, which played so important a part in the earlier history of modern thought, has lost its scientific standing with reference to truth and

its ascertainment. Admitting that this current epistemology is a very bad one for theologians, moralists, parents of families, and students of literature and the arts, we might nevertheless say that it would make less difference to human happiness and welfare if the limitations of the scientific philosophy had not at last affected the rank and file of our educated population and large parts of the half-educated, or imperfectly educated, classes of society. It seems to manifest itself in a growing materialism and in a greater and greater deafness to some of the most important truths so far discovered about human living.

Shakespeare and his contemporaries lived in a pre-Cartesian world, that is, a world which had in it little uncertainty as to the nature of things and little idea as to the importance of research into fundamental principles. Descartes began with universal doubt, and it is the presence of doubt that chiefly distinguishes our world from that of Shakespeare. Descartes discarded tradition (or doubted its truth), and he and his followers have subjected all factual, tangible, moral, religious, and intellectual ideas and beliefs to scientific investigation, a thing to which there is no objection, provided the things in question are scientifically investigable. Science has made, however, only a partial conquest of the world, partly because many people have continued to accept tradition and authority and, partly, because there seem to be some regions into which science cannot enter or can enter only in an incomplete and unconvincing way. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the scientific method and attitude have deeply affected all the life of the mind. The pre-Cartesian world is thus in some measure a lost world to modern learned culture. Yet it is a world which it is necessary for us to enter if we wish to understand the Elizabethans. Fragments of this world, even quite large fragments, are continually being found by scholars, but integration is lacking and they seem usually to remain fragments. The spirit and temper, the essence, of that world before the age of reason and science apparently make themselves known only to a few wise, patient, and imaginative scholars and critics. The difficult quest for the spirit of Shakespeare and his age goes on with varying success, and some intellectuals are perhaps the dupes of literature as well as science. Clearly, if we wish to escape into a pre-Cartesian world, we must not, although we carry our present with us, make over that past into the likeness of our present. We are tempted to do this very thing by the circumstance that human nature, although

affected and no doubt in some measure controlled by the characteristics and consequential ideas of each particular time, is proverbially always the same.*

There are, as I said, certain regions of the greatest importance to mankind which seem not to yield to the investigations of science; indeed, in the nature of things to be such that they can never yield to those methods. This is not antagonistic to science and its epistemology; it merely points out the limits of the field of scientific investigability. Those of us who believe that there is ascertainable truth in non-material fields are not willing to have this kind of knowledge classified as conjecture and cast into the limbo of uncertainty simply on the ground that it is not subject to controlled experimentation. We deny the statement of those who say, "The trouble with metaphysics is that there are no metaphysics." It is clear in the light of this that we need a new epistemology, one that will give some place and some philosophic standing to search for truth in other fields besides the scientific. Let me make my meaning clear by an illustration. Let us imagine ourselves at the center of a globe of environment all parts of which concern us and continually affect us; also that only the surface of this globe can be weighed and measured. That surface we will suppose is the field of natural science. In the center of this globe is the individual with his personal qualities and his racial inheritance, his needs, his instincts, his affections, his morals (particularly as they pertain to his duty to himself), his intellect, and his religion. Into it enter the personal part of his relations to family, neighborhood and clan. The social sciences, which are in some measure investigable by scientific methods, we shall for convenience place in the intermediate region of our imaginary globe, but we will not forget that the interests of the individual, which we have placed in the center of this imaginary globe, quicken and constantly spread outward into the field of the social sciences and carry with them the scientifically unpredictable qualities of the individual man. My point is that this center of individual life is our world, or a very large part of it. It is where we spend our time. It is the ground of our happiness or our misery, and science cannot tell us a great deal about it, even inferentially.

The Elizabethans thought they knew all about this inmost region, and they did know a great deal which we have forgotten or

*This paragraph and a few parts of what follows are taken over from my paper, "Trend of Shakespeare Scholarship," *Shakespeare Survey 2* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 107-14.

are, for one reason or another, unable to accept. They derived what they regarded as unquestionable truth from many sources which we do not or cannot accept as unquestionable—from authority, from revelation, from conceptions derived from an accepted order of the universe and an accepted theory of human nature. However ill-founded the epistemology of the men of the Renaissance was, the fact remains that it was a far broader basis for the acceptance of truth than that of the current world. It follows that, if we could find a broader epistemology, we should, simply because of that breadth, be better able to understand the Elizabethans sympathetically than we now do. Lacking such a parallel basis for the acceptance of truth, we can only make allowance for them and do our best, for the sake of mental clarity, to excuse the errors and superstitions of Shakespeare and his age.

But we need not hasten to surrender our claims. It happens that Shakespeare is possibly the greatest master and certainly one of the greatest authorities in what we have called the innermost field. He is culturally almost indispensable to us, and yet his world is not scientifically investigable throughout its area. It is only partially so, but it is an important part. The systematic study of Shakespeare has yielded much, and there is much more to be done. We still need the order and the caution of the scientific method in the study of Shakespeare. For example, modern scholarship continually falls into the trap which Bacon describes when he says that the fact that the parts of a given system agree with each other is no proof that the system as a whole is in accordance with truth. Given a theory and a determination to prove it, a scholar by hunting widely for fact and opinion which agree with his hypothesis and by ignoring those cases which are non-committal or which disagree with it may prove almost anything that is to his satisfaction. A cypher weighted ever so slightly on the side of higher frequency in favor of a conclusion desired may unearth wonders and prove impossibilities. In practice this is one of the chief things which scholars need to guard against. It is certainly true that in Elizabethan scholarship Cartesian intuitions continually entrap us. They are aided in that result by those persons who deny probability to all hypotheses except their own. But we cannot, as children of this age, reject the scientific method in the study of Shakespeare, nor is it desirable that we should. We must continue to build our building solidly and in accordance with the dictates of truth and reason and, at the same time, endeavor to ad-

just our method more and more fittingly to the real nature of our task. Scientific technique in Elizabethan scholarship, although it has proved its indispensability over and over again, is not and perhaps can never be entirely adequate to the task of interpretation, mainly because it is too limited in its scope.

If scholarship as now practiced is to some degree inadequate as it approaches the region where Shakespeare's greatness lies, and not of Shakespeare's greatness only but that of all the Elizabethans and of John Milton, we might inquire further into the matter. We know a great deal more about the Elizabethans than we once did. Our ideas as to their environment, their activities, and even their personal character are far saner and more adequate than they used to be. We understand Elizabethan art and its aims much better than it was once understood, and, although erroneous opinions still flourish and ignorance is rife, we have no cause for discouragement. Our underlying idea of our function as scholars, although seldom expressed, is sound. We have the idea that we as scholars will open the way, remove all obstacles to understanding, and let the Elizabethans speak for themselves both on the stage and in the study. We believe that their voices are potent. But the question is, can we get still closer to the center of their being? We do not need to demonstrate anything, since it is a matter of insight rather than of change. The operation is pre-Cartesian and is nothing less than seeing as the Elizabethans saw and feeling as they felt. My first suggestion is one of catholicity and hospitality of mind to all learning, for the present trend of education is a narrowing process which renders us less and less able to see the world of Queen Elizabeth. The intense specialization of the scientific method is unecessary, and in the field of literary interpretation is a mistake in and for itself.

Three hundred years of science, the latter part of which is technological and materialistic, have raised a barrier between us and Shakespeare and his age, a barrier which has to be crossed again and again by every student who would know and understand them. In considering how that barrier may be crossed I have just suggested that universality of knowledge and catholicity of mind offer a practical and ready pathway. Shakespeare and his contemporaries, with all their faults, offer us some freedom from the shackles with which we have bound ourselves. That freedom lies in the first instance, I suggest, in the assumption of a more catholic point of view and a more inclusive and broader mind, particularly on the part of schol-

ars, and in a refusal to over-specialize. Scholars are sometimes more shut away from Shakespeare than are ordinary people. To ordinary people Shakespeare continues in some measure to speak directly. They have greater difficulties in understanding what Shakespeare says than scholars do, but their inclination is to take immediately to their hearts what they do understand. Vulgar errors about Shakespeare are numerous and almost ineradicable, and yet much true Shakespeare lives on in the popular mind. There is still an open road, not a very straight or easy one, to the pre-Cartesian world of Shakespeare through the minds and hearts of simple people. From this fact we may derive a suggestion. The suggestion is that scholars might be more concerned than they are with finding out and making manifest what Shakespeare really means. Whatever interesting things may be read into Shakespeare, Shakespeare's own meaning is the greatest of all meanings and is the one our world most needs. We do not have to choose between the untrammeled errors of impressionistic criticism and the close prison of purely objective research. Elizabethans were not so disposed as we are to let themselves be the playthings of a hypothetical determinism. It is easy and sometimes amusing to designate the faults of the Elizabethans, but this one can say, they were the children of God and they knew it.

If we grant that Shakespeare and his contemporaries did their thinking in a pre-Cartesian world, it is incumbent upon us to ask how people thought in such a world. We should reply that the prevailing, perhaps the only, organized method of thought, was still mediaeval. The great philosophical system known as scholasticism lasted in Europe from the ninth century until the seventeenth, and popularly long afterwards. It was a very ample system, and a large part of the Christian world still finds it abundant for their needs. We think of it as prevailingly Aristotelian and Thomist, yet it produced age after age proponents of mysticism and intuitionalism, and we know that the Renaissance, particularly, was strongly influenced by Plato and the Neo-Platonists. We know also that rationalism was firmly entrenched in schools, universities, courts of law, and the church. The liberalizing mediaeval warfare between intuitionalism and rationalism was by no means forgotten.

It is easy to enumerate the principles of this system. It had its own epistemology, metaphysics, natural theology, moral and social philosophy, logic, aesthetics, and forensics—all recognizable in the thought of the Renaissance and of Shakespeare. We know that the

doctrine of the harmonious relation between reason and revelation was firmly held; indeed, that there was a harmony throughout the whole range and scope of law. Richard Hooker shows us that. The Renaissance had its own doctrine of personality, society, the state, and the universe. All were arranged in a completely harmonious system in accordance with what was believed to be the will of God, so that disobedience was the root of sin. Is this vast manifestation of order in every part of the universe merely a speculation? Or may it be accepted as a credible symbol of truth?

The problem of understanding the scholasticism of the Renaissance is not the problem of the Neo-Scholastics of whom we have heard so much recently in this country. Such scholasticism as had entered into or still remained by inheritance within the Renaissance mind was the original thing and is needed for the interpretation of the age; whereas our Neo-Scholastics are engaged in an attempt to incorporate our new knowledge of the physical world with an older conception of a unified, God-ruled, and God-created universe. They would make a revision of the work of St. Thomas Aquinas.

When we bring what I have said about the fundamentals of Renaissance thought down to earth, what do we find? We find (1) an epistemology which derived truth not only from the senses but also from revelation and authority. We find (2) a metaphysics which was naive and very largely a matter of degree; the invisible was merely something too attenuated to be seen. Under hyperaesthesia, such as might appear in illness or on the approach of death, or under conditions of melancholic frenzy, or because of some pressure within the spiritual essence itself, the spiritual might emerge into the region of sight or tangibility. In the Renaissance there was no conception of spiritual essence as such. Such metaphysics made it possible to construct on the basis of superstition, tradition, and analogy a world of ranked, assigned, and organized spiritual beings. There was also in the Renaissance (3) a valid and widely held natural theology, a function of the coordinated plan of microcosm and macrocosm. From this point of view the storm in *King Lear,* and indeed the whole play, take on a new signficance. Some work has been done in this field, but not enough. The Renaissance had also (4) a moral system, well understood and potent, which swung in a fairly narrow arc between the Scriptures, on the one hand, and the ethical and political teachings of Plato and Aristotle on the other. It stressed obedience to law in all spheres. Empiricism in ethics in

so far as it might attempt to discover new principles or test out old ones was, so far as I know, utterly unknown and would have been completely and dangerously heretical. The logic of the Renaissance (5) was formalized and pretentious. It may be said to have lost its moorings when it turned its back on the *Analytics* of Aristotle and adopted an attenuated form of the *Topics* as its basis. Logic was married to disputation, and the union was unhappy, but let no student imagine that he can understand Shakespeare completely if he is not logically conscious and if he does not know that Shakespeare was trained in disputational methods. In aesthetics (6) the men of the Renaissance were not seriously deficient in spite of their insistence on the doctrine that the function of art was to teach through the giving of pleasure. This doctrine did not greatly hamper Sidney or Spenser or Shakespeare or Milton.

With reference to (7) the Renaissance doctrine of human personality one might say that it is an unworked field which seems to have two aspects. One of these is the doctrine of the ideal man, usually a prince. This doctrine appears again and again in the greatest of Renaissance writings: in Sidney's *Arcadia,* Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* and Shakespeare's histories. It is formally exemplified in in the figure of Henry V, it is basal in the conception of Hamlet, and there is hardly one of Shakespeare's major heroes who does not illustrate in success or failure the ancient figure of the well-rounded, well-bred, and well-balanced character, the one in whom the elements were so mixed that Nature might stand up and say, "This was a man." Over against this princely figure is the mediaeval conception of the equality of all men before God, which we might think of in terms of Langland's "Field full of Folk." It is true that God had ordained that men in the world should exist in ranks and classes and that all men were expected to discharge their duties in the sphere to which God had assigned them. Nothing sounds to the modern ear less democratic than this, and yet men of whatever rank and class were still men, gifted with brains and character and entitled to claim their share in the salvation offered all men by the Saviour. Their equality made itself manifest in the Dance of Death and the Pilgrimage of Human Life, but it was not limited to them. Essential manhood was in every created human character. The nameless First Servant in *King Lear* is as great a hero as can be found in the plays of Shakespeare. This was the democracy of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare believed in it. It explains the humanity of

his minor characters, and rounds out and completes his picture of men in the world.

There is no issue of vagueness on their side and concreteness on ours. The Elizabethans were curious, observant and sharply accurate. No scientist who ever lived has observed more closely the world in which he lived than did William Shakespeare or has sought more honestly and intelligently to discover and reveal the truth about it than he did. We must not believe that science has any monopoly on the discovery of truth. What we need is an epistemology on a soundly philosophical basis which will make room for the Shakespearean sort of truth as well as for the scientific kind.

There is at this time in the philosophic world a ray of hope. I do not consider myself competent to discuss it, but I should like to bring it to your attention. There is promise of a new epistemology in the philosophy which underlies symbolic logic. It may be that we shall find there a breadth and catholicity with reference to the nature of truth, a breadth analogous to that enjoyed by the Renaissance and at the same time one with a sounder relation to the laws of thought. George Boole, Augustus De Morgan, A. N. Whitehead, Bertrand Russell and others, guided by the fact that mathematical truth is independent of physical phenomena, have brought forward a new epistemology, a new method for the comprehension of truth. The basis for this is, roughly speaking, the doctrine of the symbol. The question posed was this: if the philosopher of modern science admits, not only the truth of scientific demonstration, but also that of mathematics which rests on symbols, why may not the truth of symbolization be accepted in other fields besides that of mathematics?

There has been much study of symbolism and imagery in Shakespeare in our time, but none of it has been very authoritative perhaps because it has lacked a sound basis in philosophy. It has made two characteristic mistakes, both of which might conceivably be remedied. It has failed to recognize that much imagery in Shakespeare and other Renaissance writers was common property, often borrowed from the ancients, and trained into Renaissance writers while they were in school in pursuance of the prevailing theory and practice of imitation. It has also insisted on finding "patterns" and "image-clusters" in Shakespeare which are merely evidences of literary skill. Such interpreters often have lacked knowledge of the English language and its origin and variety, and of the symbolic nature of language. If a critic of *King Lear* is at pains to point out patterns of sight

and blindness, shelter and exposure, and the errors and misfortunes of old age, as well as the animal in man, is it not true that these are very common subjects in life as well as in the play, and that Shakespeare could do nothing else but use for his purposes the richness of the English language based on the experience of the English race to the remotest times? Shakespeare has mainly done that, probably without conscious symbolic intention, and done it supremely well. It would be well if those scholars who devote themselves to imagery would learn more about the nature and significance of symbols. There is, however, no doubt that a beginning has been made on the symbolic basis and I think that the fundamental idea is both sound and promising for literary study. The field is vast and promises great returns. Words are not the only symbols in use in literature, drama, and life. Some of the profounder meanings are never expressed in words.

The approach to Renaissance study I have outlined is thus in two stages. Scholars may, as great scholars have always done, so saturate themselves in the age that they will come into a higher degree of understanding and sympathy with the Renaissance, and realize not only the breadth and sufficiency of Renaissance thought as applied to the living of human life, but the valiancy of its spirit and its appreciation of beauty, since they have rendered themselves consonant with the philosophy of the age. In the study of Shakespeare they might rid themselves of our too narrow conception of human character and our restrictive habit of regarding Shakespeare's plots as typical and specific instead of general and exemplary. They may thus come to see and feel a more pervasive unity in *Hamlet, King Lear,* and *Coriolanus* and in some measure cease to regard these plays as problems and even be willing to admit a human consistency within inconsistency in such characters as Falstaff and Hamlet.

Secondly, by means of a broadened epistemology, we might learn to discriminate among truth and arrive at a stronger and more assured grasp of truth itself within the bounds of Shakespeare and his age and a keener determination of values. We might even ask why there should be in our age so wide a chasm between mythical truth and scientific truth. There was no such gap in the thought of the pre-Cartesian world. Perhaps this gap might be bridged for us as it was for the men of that time (a new bridge of course); and, if it were, we might move as freely and as assuredly in our world as the Elizabethans did in theirs.

University of Missouri

STAGING ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

BY GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

DURING the last fifty years we have gained a far more favourable opinion of Shakespeare as a theatrical craftsman, and, for this, research into Elizabethan stage conditions can, I think, fairly claim some credit. In 1900 most people who considered the matter at all thought Shakespeare a curiously naive and awkward playwright. He failed by the prevailing standards of realism. But we have come to see that Shakespeare's dramatic technique was no naive and inadequate approximation to our own—indeed, in many ways it is we who are trying to return to his practice. His stage, we have learned, was no furniture makeshift, but a highly developed instrument with its own quite different purpose and ideal: and we appreciate that Shakespeare knew how to use it with great effect—perhaps not so spectacularly as, say, Fletcher, but with a fine adequacy for his own ends.

At the turn of the century the situation was quite different. William Poel was then stoutly upholding the validity of Shakespeare's methods, but in general, ideas of realism pretty well dominated all theatrical practice. Public appreciation had passed beyond its ecstatic thrills of the 'sixties, at Robertson's doors that clicked and windows that really opened and shut, to demanding more convincing—and troublesome—fittings: solid wooden wainscoting for oaken libraries, clocks, one after another, chiming the hour, in the same house, massive real trees, not merely the properties necessary for the action, but everything that could conceivably be present. For a stage with such ideals, Shakespeare's plays offered immense opportunities certainly, but also immense difficulties. To use elaborately realistic settings for every scene of Shakespeare's many-scened plays was obviously impossible. Some scenes had to be omitted, some could be combined with others, though such rearrangement might obscure the plot or wreck the dramatic rhythm. Yet even with all these adaptations it

often seemed necessary for the curtain to be down for scene changes as long as it was up for scene presentation; the emotional intensity was thus broken into a series of disconnected incidents. Obviously Shakespeare appeared not to know his job in the eyes of producers using such methods: as for the neat skill of a Pinero, who told his story in a limited number of sections of about equal length, with a clever use of furnishings to convey necessary information and to create a convincing atmosphere, the Elizabethan apparently lacked it completely.

So much for the theatrical attitude. Scholarship was little better. In 1900 the Germans, forced by the publication in 1888 of the contemporary picture of the Swan Theatre to accept the projecting stage, were still intent on hanging on it a front curtain, for how could there be, they argued, any stage without such a curtain? And finally, when that incredulity was overcome, there lingered—and still does in some quarters—the related idea that sizeable properties could not possibly be displayed on an uncurtained space.

Some students of Shakespeare escaped these questions by treating the plays as merely something to be read, and if forced to imagine how they were presented, talked vaguely of the Elizabethan stage as 'naked', untrammelled by properties or scenery, an idea still promulgated in some older textbooks and books of reference. But for such an idea there was no excuse at all, as the plays themselves make abundantly clear, and the papers of Philip Henslow, known to scholars for decades, establish beyond a doubt. He was the financial backer of the Lord Admiral's company at the Rose Theatre, and in 1598 drew up an inventory of the properties stored there, which mentions, among others, a rock, a tomb, hell-mouth, a cage and an altar, and his *Diary* records expenditure for a throne.

Those who are interested in a detailed account of the changes in our ideas about Elizabethan stage conditions in the last fifty years will find an excellent summary in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's article in *Shakespeare, a Survey,* 1948, and a fine short statement of the conventions of his stage, as we now understand them, in Granville- Barker's introduction to the *Prefaces.* Here I shall make only a brief general statement, with precise application to two points.

The distinctive features of the Elizabethan public theatre, the theatre for which Shakespeare wrote most of his plays, were, first, an

unroofed yard into which projected a platform stage, open on three sides. The fourth side was the facade of the tiring-house, but spectators on occasion were admitted even to it: 'central staging,' enjoying a vogue today, is scarcely as modern as some would suggest. On the stage level in this facade were usually a curtained space and always three doors leading 'within'. On the second gallery level was a curtained balcony; on the level of the third balcony was probably another opening, sometimes used by the music, above which projected a roof protecting the stage below; and topping all was a hut-like structure hardly visible from the yard but concealing the means for raising and lowering properties and actors when circumstances required.

There were also, as I have mentioned, separate structures to be reckoned with—tombs, shops, tents, a throne, an arbour, placed sometimes in the curtained space, sometimes on the front stage. Whether the imagined scene was before city walls or in a bedroom, in a forest or on a ship, or in some cases simultaneously in two or more places at once, always visible were at least two of the doors, the balcony above, and usually the curtain at the back. Thus there was no possibility of a realistic whole stage background. This stage arose from a quite different idea—that of the medieval performances, for example, of the stationary scripture plays in which Nazareth, Bethlehem, Herod's palace, the Sea of Galilee, Hell's Mouth and Paradise were all side by side within a few steps of each other. More immediate predecessors were the street shows and tableaux. The imagined location of any scene on such a stage was indicated by the properties it made use of, and many scenes were not precisely located at all. Our different modern system makes it difficult for us to imagine the conventions and implications of such a staging. Something, perhaps, we can learn from the films: for they, with a similar freedom of background, have developed in this respect a technique similar to the Elizabethan.

Case For The Short Scene

Two illustrations, both of points for which Shakespeare has been adversely criticised in the past, show that he should perhaps rather have been praised. One point at which Shakespeare has appeared to be especially awkward is the large number of short scenes he sometimes employs at various stages in his story. If these scenes are given at all on our modern stage they never rise to much dramatic intensity because a black-out or a falling curtain usually checks it before it can start. Even when we read such sequences to ourselves the successive

titles following fast on one another. Scene 5, 'Another part of the forest'; Scene 6, 'Another part of the forest'; Scene 7, 'Another part of the forest' and so on, are emotionally discouraging and imaginatively deadening. Critics have pretty generally condemned these short scenes, sometimes suggesting that they are only sketches for scenes not fully developed. Yet are not some of these sequences comparable to similar sequences in the films, which are praised as illustrations of artistic skill in montage? And should not Shakespeare be praised also? On his stage, too, scene could follow scene without pause or slackening of effect; before one group of actors was gone, another, even if perhaps supposed in a different place, could appear. Thus in his plays too there could be a building up of intensity from scene to scene, just as in the films; similar contrasts, similar juxtapositions—and this three centuries ago, before montage, so-called, was dreamed of.

Consider for example the last seven scenes of 'Troilus and Cressida'—seven scenes: but the number 'seven' is purely formal, for there are actually some twenty dramatic paragraphs—so to speak—in 252 lines. Each section, taken separately, seems a mere scrap of dialogue which might warrant the judgment that it had been composed hurriedly, and not worked out fully. But taken as a whole, these short dramatic paragraphs have a quite different effect. There is first Thersites' cynical forecasting of the two lines of interest, Troilus' contest with Diomedes for Cressida's sleeve, and Ajax' and Achilles' egotistic coyness about fighting. Then, as an obvious showing up of himself, is Thersites' cowardice before Hector. Successive passages show Troilus' taking on of both Ajax and Diomedes, Achilles' dastardly murder of Hector, Troilus' lament for Hector, his scorn of Pandarus and finally his going out to revenge himself on the Greeks, leaving Pandarus to mock the world in general. Instead of a series of disconnected undeveloped scenes, is there not here a pattern, much more unified and more subtly constructed than my brief summary can show? Many such sequences of short scenes will be found to be not merely chronological series of independently created scenes, but a unit planned for cumulative effect.

Our tradition of realism on the stage has long made impossible the use of such sequences. Consequently we have only recently been permitted to see them for what they are, and to recognise Shakespeare's skill in divising them. For this recognition we have to thank the knowledge, provided by recent scholarship, of the way the scenes

were originally presented—and also, I suggest, the example of the films which have revealed the artistic possibilities of such 'montage'.

The Unchanging Background

But scholarship has emphasised something else about the Elizabethan stage and Shakespeare's use of it which the films do not illustrate, except, so to speak, in reverse. The projecting stage on which, it has been shown, most of the action occurred, the practically unchanging background, emphasised the actors and offered little or no competition with the lines. Dr. George Kernodle in his *From Art to Theatre* has emphasised that the theatre with the carved pillars and painted walls which provoked the Puritan clergy to protest at extravagance provided a festive background, in no way a poverty-stricken one, and this is true enough. But the background was a standardised one and stayed in the background. There was spectacle too on the Elizabethan stage, more it would appear at the Red Bull than at the Globe, but even at the Red Bull in a play full of devils and fire and what not, it was the poet whom Dekker depended upon to 'call the banished auditor home, and tye his eare (with golden chaines) to his melody'.

The lyric passages of Shakespeare have sometimes been considered as undramatic embroidery, yet even to our modern poetically deaf ears 'Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow', 'Our revels now are ended', 'Look how the floor of heaven is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold'—these passages and others like them are really more dramatically effective than some of the moments of action, and often make anticlimaxes of succeeding scenes.

Sir Laurence Olivier was no doubt wise for our generation in moving about from one background to another during the delivery of his long speeches in 'Henry V', but certainly the speeches themselves received a more wavering attention. The competition with poetry on the stage itself of varying painted scenes has come in since Shakespeare's day, and has been blamed by Dr. Gordon Bottomley for our present insensitivity to the spoken word. Other causes are also to be recognised— for instance the shift in emphasis in education from oral reading to rapid silent reading. But, be that as it may, research into the conditions of the Elizabethan stage has, in fact, helped to show how admirably its form and practice were suited to poetic speech.

Shakespeare's Technical Skill

Study of the Elizabethan stage then has demonstrated that Shakespeare and some of his colleagues did know their business as technical playwrights. They showed their skill in other ways too than those I have mentioned, for example in indicating quickly and clearly the imagined location of their scenes when it really mattered, in changing that location neatly when that change mattered, in making clear lapses of time with no falling curtain to help them, in keeping their complicated plots moving and distinct, in giving their actors scenes of contrasted emotion—and so on and so on.

Many performances today, by reducing interruptions to a minimum, show that study of the Elizabethan stage has had some effect on actual performance, and suggest that the full dramatic power of Elizabethan plays may best be demonstrated by still closer observance (not necessarily or even desirably with antiquarian fidelity, but in spirit and principle) of its original practice. It may even be shown that the theatre's unique appeal—in contrast to films and television—lies precisely where the Elizabethans most effectively employed it, in the personal presence of the actor and his speaking of moving language.*

Boulder, Colorado

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BRADLEYAN REPRISE: ON THE FOOL IN *TWELFTH NIGHT*

By E. J. West

SOME twenty years ago, when I was a novice in the business of play production, I had on a small western campus an eccentric colleague who grandiloquently and extravagantly hatched glorious projects for himself—and others. One day out of the blue he demanded peremptorily and without preface that I give up teaching, get a company of actors, and produce all of Shakespeare's plays, acting the clown or fool or chief comic part in each, that I might eventually compose a monograph on "The Fools of Shakespeare, by One who has been Them." Somewhat overcome by the magnificence of the idea, although scarcely flattered by the apparent assumption of my possessing at once consummate acting ability, Protean size, and a mastermind (albeit a "natural" one), I considered the source of the suggestion, thanked him courteously, and reflected that Harley Granville-Barker had somewhere remarked, "Nowadays we no longer put them in livery." Or, to quote a still earlier Shakespearean: "Well, God give them wisdom that have it; and those that are fools, let them use their talents."

The courtier Curio rather belatedly assigns a name to this earlier Shakespearean (Act II, scene 4, to be exact): "Feste the jester, my lord, a fool that the Lady Olivia's father took much delight in." Although I have a vague memory of having in the dim past of high school English once played in the famous cellar-scene in a classroom reading, I did not myself learn to take proper delight in Feste until, some time following my fantastic colleague's preposterous proposal, while working on a production of *Twelfth Night,* I discovered myself as actor constantly complaining during rehearsals that as director I had cast myself as Sir Toby rather than as him whom "the Lady Olivia's father took much delight in." (An unwise complaint, since like Charles I have no ear.) Although the production was

successful enough to achieve a request repetition, I reluctantly repeated my casting, a respectable Toby not appearing and my original Feste, possessed of a lovely singing voice, still being available. So the playing of Feste joined permanently, with the writing of the suggested monstrous monograph, the list of unachievable ambitions. . . . "But that's all one."

This much personal preamble merely to intimate that, like many of my elders and betters, I have fallen inescapable prey to the peculiar fascination of the character of the Fool in *Twelfth Night.* One recalls that even the temperate and usually self-contained Kittredge allowed himself to speculate: "Somehow, one thinks that poor Yorick must have resembled Feste—the merriest of Shakespeare's fools."[1] While I doubt that "merriest" quite seems to me to account fully for his charm, with A. C. Bradley I must confess that of all Shakespeare's fools Feste "has always lain nearest to my heart," and that "I love him more" than any of his professional fellows.[2] I am aware that the general critical view of the play, willing or no, has assigned to Malvolio the chief masculine interest of the play. Indeed, in a relatively recent and well-received book, innocent from cover to cover of any apparent recognition that Shakespeare designed his plays for the stage rather than for the study, Mark Van Doren goes further: "Even Viola, much as we like her, stands a little to one side of the center. The center is Malvolio. The drama is between his mind and the music of old manners."[3] One wishes that Van Doren had perceived that part of Feste's power is that he is the personified music of old manners.

But speaking from the point of view of one who has lived for some months with *Twelfth Night* in two actual productions and for many years with the play in class discussion, I incline to agree in part at least with J. Isaacs, who, lecturing to the Shakespeare Association of England in 1926, declared that "the protagonists are Feste and Malvolio." I cavil somewhat at the term "protagonists," and prefer the phrase which Isaacs used earlier of Touchstone and Jacques, "the two significant figures." Isaacs found the "problem" of the play to be the "eternal antagonism of Puritan and lightheart," but qualified the "light-heart" by continuing: "In the end Feste wins, and Malvolio wins, but in his victory Feste is sad. Feste is no boy as so often played, he must be of years to make the conflict with Malvolio more real, more respectful."[4] I am not sure why Malvolio should deserve respect, but in the latter view, concerning Feste's age,

Isaacs would find support from that late great Shakespearean producer and scholar, Granville-Barker, who long ago in an acting edition of the play emphasized Feste's maturity, but strangely found in him "that vein of irony by which we may so often mark one of life's self-acknowledged failures," "a man of parts without character and with more wit than sense," who sought "a kindly refuge from the world's struggles as an allowed fool."

This, from so acute a critic, somewhat surprises me. All criticism savors necessarily of the impressionism which is the impact of the age, and Feste is frequently ironic; but I submit that his irony is that of his own realization of his intellectual superiority and not that of James Thurber's indubitably and profoundly revealing contemporary Middle Aged Man. And surely Feste lacks neither character nor sense; Bradley saw the play and the part much more clearly when he declared Feste "as sane as his mistress," not "even eccentric, scarcely even flighty," possessing "not only the ready wit required by his profession, and an intellectual agility greater than it requires, but also an insight into character and into practical situations so swift and sure that he seems to supply, in fuller measure than any of Shakespeare's other fools, the poet's own comment on the story." Surely Feste could justly say, "I wear not motley in my brain," and to the various examples cited by Bradley to demonstrate his ready wit, his mental agility and his real perception of character and situation, we might add the glancing irony of his question to Toby and Andrew: "Would you have a love song, or a song of good life?"; his refusal to explain to Viola the rascality of words: "words are grown so false I am loath to prove reason with them"; his reflection, as "an honest man and a good housekeeper," while donning the robe of Sir Topas: "I would I were the first that ever dissembled in such a gown"; his pithy retort to Malvolio, "I say there is no darkness but ignorance"; and the dignity of his wish that even the flighty Orsino should not "think that my desire is the sin of covetousness." I find much justice in Bradley's contention that in his own words (and we must remember that these include the words of his songs), we may in truth find "the poet's own comment on the story." And in the words of the other characters concerning him, surely the most impersonal, those which most sound like "the poet's own comment" on Feste, are those of Viola, who alone perceived "This fellow is wise enough to play the fool," who appreciates Feste's nice calculation of the "mood" and "quality of per-

sons, and the time," and who realizes that the "folly that he wisely shows, is fit."

I am indebted to Professor Robert M. Smith for reminding me that some thirty-five years ago Morris P. Tilley did assign to Feste, with Viola, a more important position in the play than has been usual with critics, who in the main, like Van Doren, concentrate attention upon Malvolio. Tilley saw *Twelfth Night* as Shakespeare's contribution to the contemporary study of "the problem of life," usually dramatically treated by denouncing the Puritanical or supposedly Malvolian point of view. But Tilley claimed that to Shakespeare the problem was "the conflict in human nature between the reason and the emotions; and he suggests to us in the perfect sanity of Viola and Feste that the solution lies not in the exclusion of either the one or the other, either reason or emotions."[5] Viola and Feste, Tilley asserted, represent "the golden mean of the play" (obviously standing, to return to Van Doren, neither to right nor left of the center), and "To them Shakespeare has given self-control and a penetration that guide them in their course of life, without exposing them to the extreme either of folly or of austerity."[6] Tilley also anticipated Bradley's contention that in Feste's words we find "the poet's own comment on the story" when he suggested to the jester Shakespeare gave "in goodly measure his own penetration into the motives of others."[7]

In opposition to the "kindly refuge" theory of Granville-Barker, I would claim that part of the fascination and appeal of Feste lies really in our sympathetic sense of sorrow and pity for him. Viola, as I have noted, alone of his fellows in the play seems to see him clearly, and that dear innocent, despite Tilley, is much too preoccupied with her own troubles really to *feel* for or with Feste. Bradley, reflecting upon the degrading position (rather than the "kindly refuge") as professional jester for such a man, "perfectly sane," not shown as "unfit for independence," and "superior in mind to his superiors in rank," lamented: "And he has no Celia, no Countess, no Lear, to protect or love him."[8] But we who read the play sensitively and appreciatively, I trust, do more than "take much delight in him;" we love him—we love him for his insight and philosophy, for his ability to build up for himself a world of fancy born of his acute observation of the world as it is, for his genuine and deep love of music, for his freedom from obscenity (Bradley's contrast here is the "foul-mouthed" Fool of *All's Well,* but Feste

in this respect is eminently more endearing than even the much-loved Beatrice of *Much Ado*) and from bad taste generally.[9] Surely it is intentional that Fabian is introduced late in the play to take the part originally assigned to Feste by Maria in the gulling of Malvolio, and that when the necessity for a conspirator of his professional talents does finally draw him into the plot against the steward, "he takes steps to end it and consents, in his own voice, to provide the lunatic with light, pen, ink, and paper for his letter to Olivia."[10] Feste is incapable of harboring a grudge, even against his professed enemy.

One point, already implied in the insistence upon Feste's possession of sense, I should like to remark on further. The play, it has been noted, is full of gulls. Only that bright and lovely creature Viola and Feste himself seem not to be deceived in one way or another, self-deceived or deceived by their fellows. If the play were produced as I suspect possibly Shakespeare meant it to be produced, that is, with Orsino and Olivia definitely comic characters, as humorous in their self-deception as Malvolio himself, I rather suspect we should more than ever see clearly how brightly shine forth the purity of mind and spirit of both Viola and Feste.[11] Occasional difficulties arise in production today from an apparent conflict between the romance of the Orsino-Olivia-Viola-Sebastian-Antonio motif and the farce of the Malvolio-Maria-Toby-Andrew-Fabian motif; the usual remedy is to attempt to soften the farce to bring it into harmony with the romance. I personally would like to see the experiment of bringing more of the romantic characters into the comedy. Probably it wouldn't work; certainly Feste could not be forced into farce. An innate dignity of character keeps him aloof from the antics and schemes of Toby and Andrew. This dignity is part of his maturity, and emphasizes that he must be played by a man, not a boy. We have noted Curio's reference to him as the favorite of Olivia's father; the words of both Malvolio and Olivia in the early part of Act I, scene 5, seem to establish him as distinctly not young; and Bradley found part of his appeal to our pity in that he is "a relic of the past."[12] Van Doren, we have noticed, failing to perceive Feste as the personification of the idea, saw one force in the dramatic conflict as "the music of old manners."

Of the song in Act II, scene 4, "Come away, come away, death," which Richmond Noble, citing himself as in agreement with Dover Wilson in his edition of the play, complained of as out of place,

Orsino, for all his abrupt "Here's for thy pains," notes: "It is old and plain . . . And dallies with the innocence of love, Like the old age." The song is amazingly suited to the character of its present singer, even in the "half-mocking pity" which Noble found in it, and if indeed this would seem to be the song which Viola was originally meant to sing, it is still absolutely right for Feste. Again, while I agree with Noble that Feste's concluding song "affords a most fitting commentary on the events in this comedy of cloudland;" I do not agree that it "maintains in the end the altogether comic quality of the play."[13] Rather does "The Wind and the Rain" carefully shift final attention back to Feste after Malvolio's usually applause-commanding exit. And it allows Feste to make for the author his final comment; as a would-be modern critic put it recently:

> All 'true' comedies . . . leave the audience in a thoughtful, and therefore uncomfortable, state of mind. They are the ones . . . in which the laughter of the comic poet is audible. Even "Twelfth Night," the comedy of Shakespeare with the most delicate atmosphere, finds the fool as the only wise man at the end, the only one who sees life as it is, whereas Orsino above stairs sees it as an alternately exalting and melancholy love-affair, and Sir Toby below stairs as one magnificent drinking-bout.[14]

This comment naturally, but I think unintentionally, recalls Tilley's conclusion in 1914 to his study of "organic unity" in the play. Admitting that the last song "is thought by some to be full of wisdom and by others to be hardly intelligible," Tilley copied down the words of the song, omitting the refrain throughout, and claimed that "In these words" Feste touches "lightly upon the fundamental idea of the play," summarizes his experience of life, of knaves and of non-knaves, refers in the third stanza to Malvolio and in the fourth to Toby and Andrew, to all of whom "men shut their gates," and concludes that "This matter of good and evil is as old as the world" and that folly brings only disappointment. In "The Wind and the Rain," Tilley felt that Feste, "the wise discerner of motives throughout the play," added the last comment of scorn for "the folly of extremes" and held up "to high praise the mean that we term golden."[15]

Thirteen years after Tilley's article was published, Austin Gray, in his illuminating and provocative article on the original player of Feste, Robert Armine, commented on this closing song as "a Tom o' Bedlam song in its joyous, child-like nonsense, which means everything or nothing, according as the listener is a German

commentator or not," surely a somewhat shortsighted reading.[16] But one remembers that, as Richmond Noble put it, "To Warburton, Steevens, Staunton, and a host of other Georgian and Victorian editors the song was anathema, and they would have consigned the ditty to the footnotes as being the gag of an actor."[17] Gray, while quite willing to assign the song to Armine rather than to Shakespeare (with Tilley I would here protest: the song is a part of the organic structure of the play), obviously thought too well of it to dub it "the gag of an actor." But a note of admiration—of willingness if not to read everything into "The Wind and the Rain," at least to refuse to read in it nothing more than "joyous, child-like nonsense,"—began to be sounded in the last century by Charles Knight and by a John Weiss, whose tribute of 1876 as quoted by Noble sounds strangely anticipative of later comments by Tilley and Bradley and Hazelton Spencer.

At any rate I take it that today it is commonly granted that the song fits the play, and that it exquisitely fits the character, which Bradley rightly noted as distinguished for the "serenity and gaiety of his spirit," reflected in this "old rude song about the stages of man's life, in each of which the rain rains every day; a song at once cheerful and rueful, stoical and humorous." Bradley went on, you will remember, to imagine Shakespeare himself humming the song as he reflected upon his own position, so like Feste's in its mingled dependence and superiority, and upon his ambition of securing independence, like Feste, by hoarding up the sixpences "until at last he could say the words, 'our revels now are ended,' and could break—was it a magician's staff or a Fool's bauble?"[18] If this, eloquent as the whole passage is in Bradley's concluding three pages, seems to be making Feste's last song mean a great deal indeed, it was written by no German commentator, but by a scholar who in the same essay compared Feste's opinion of the Maria-Toby liaison with that of Gervinus, to conclude, with tongue in cheek: "but then Gervinus, though a most respectable critic, was no Fool."[19] But it remained for Hazelton Spencer, less than a decade ago, to read into "The Wind and the Rain" still wider meanings; after paraphrasing the verses of the song, he went on:

> And Feste prances out, tossing off the world's burden with a 'that's all one.' But in real life the cakes and ale were put away, the king's crown went down, the stage itself went down, the Puritans won. Feste's song is not, of course, a prophecy; it is a reminder, and a

> transition from a world of faëry to the marshy Bankside Lane outside the door of the Globe. For it is a clue to what the Master of Ceremonies, the Feste of Festes, must himself have been thinking. It is the epilogue to the last and greatest of his joyous romantic comedies. He is to write more comedies, but very different ones, with a great deal in them that is far from joyous. And he had already set his feet, or was about to set them, on the *via dolorosa* of supreme and heart-rending tragedy.[20]

I am enchanted with Bradley's impressionism,[21] I am not quite ready to read into "The Wind and the Rain" quite all that Spencer did, although I think there is a gleam of real insight in his suggestion of the "transition from a world of faëry to the marshy Bankside Lane outside the door of the Globe."[22] But that's all one. When some years before his death I first suggested to the late Tucker Brooke some of the ideas here expressed, he replied: "There is a peculiar quality about *Twelfth Night,* I think, that you have illustrated impressively. More than in the other high comedies, each of the greater characters, if you begin studying him, becomes a kind of peephole into infinity." And the late Virginia Woolf, that strangely perceptive and impressionistic critic, was moved by an Old Vic production of the play, "trembling perpetually on the brink of music," to write in much the same spirit—if one regrets the implication that Shakespeare reads better than he plays:

> When Sir Andrew says "I was adored once," we feel that we hold him in the hollow of our hands; a novelist would have taken three volumes to bring us to that pitch of intimacy. And Viola, Malvolio, Olivia, the Duke—the mind so brims and spills over with all that we know and guess about them as they move in and out among the lights and shadows of the mind's stage that we ask why should we imprison them within the bodies of real men and women?[23]

So to each his own vision. Herein I have merely recorded something of my own attachment to that "peephole into infinity" whose name, hauntingly and ironically, is Feste the Fool.

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1. Introduction to *Twelfth Night, The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* edited by George Lyman Kittredge, Boston, Ginn, 1935, p. 400.
2. A. C. Bradley, "Feste the Jester," in *A Miscellany,* London, Macmillan, 1929, p. 207.
3. Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare,* New York, Holt, 1939, p. 169.
4. J. Isaacs, "Shakespeare as Man of the Theatre," in *A Series of Papers on Shakes-*

peare and the Theatre by Members of the Shakespeare Association 1925-1926, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. 107-108. *Cf.* Herbert Farjeon, *The Shakespearean Scene. Dramatic Criticisms,* London, Hutchinson, 1949, p. 73, commenting on the Feste of Morland Graham in the 1933 Old Vic production: "a sweet, diffident fool, out of his guard unless you laugh and minister occasion to him, surprisingly but not unwarrantably old;" and p. 74, on the interpretation of Marius Goring in the 1937 production: "Immeasurably the best thing in this production . . . a worn clown, stark, tragic, like a stab in the heart of fun." Of the latter production, Audrey Williamson, *Old Vic Drama. A Twelve Years' Study of Plays and Players,* London, Rockliff, 1948, p. 87, wrote: "The fatality was emphasized most of all in Marius Goring's Clown: a death's head framed in black, singing his songs of mortality in a voice as soft and dark as the surrounding twilight. Perhaps this was overdone; one missed the 'glad heart' of a Dicky Suett, the resilient wit of the jester that gilds the philosophic undercurrents. But in his dazzling Sir Topas scene the actor made amends, and gave us the joy and crackle of the natural mimic."

5. Morris P. Tilley, "The Organic Unity of *Twelfth Night,*" PMLA, XXIX (1914), 556-557.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 558.

7. *Ibid.,* p. 559.

8. Bradley, *loc. cit.,* p. 213.

9. The editor of SAB, Professor Smith, who has so graciously called my attention to the Tilley article cited above, suggests that my attitude toward Beatrice, expressed at large in my article, "Much Ado About an Unpleasant Play," SAB, XXII (1947), 30-34, seems "a curious kind of Puritan reaction in you on the Malvolio order!" I confess it is, and merely point out mildly that my series of Shakespeare articles, published in SAB and CE, of which this is the seventh, is admittedly impressionistic and not meant to offer in any way a consecutive and articulated judgment of Shakespeare. That I am neither old enough nor wise enough to offer. Professor Smith thinks my "earlier effort on *Much Ado*" should have been taken care of by Sidney L. Gulick, Jr.'s " More Ado about *Much Ado,*" SAB, XXIII (1948), 55-58, but he suspects I "remain unregenerate." I have read Mr. Gulick's article several times in an honest effort to understand its attack upon me, that I might defend my attitude. I report regretfully that I can find little reference in the article to the actual content of my original paper. Mr. Gulick obviously understood neither of the two words, "brutality" and "bawdiness," which he objects to, *as* I used them and *as* I illustrated them. Therefore his article, while generally interesting, and showing an enviable if rather undiscriminating acquaintance with brutality and "bawdy" in Shakespeare, seems to me irrelevant as a comment upon my "curious kind of Puritan reaction" toward Beatrice and her play. Quite possibly I am "unregenerate."

10. Bradley, *loc. cit.* p. 215. *Cf.* Farjeon, *op. cit.,* p. 76, strangely puzzling over the problem of Fabian: "Who is Fabian? What is he? Where does he spring from? Why is he introduced into the play at all? Here is a Shakespearean mystery that has been left unexplored. Is there any other character in Shakespeare with so many words to say who remains so completely characterless? . . . Nearly all the lines that Fabian speaks could be spoken equally as well by some other character on the stage. It is almost as though Shakespeare had dodged up an extra part at the last moment to give a player a job." I think there is much to be said for the suggestion in the last sentence, but if one prefers to think of Shakespeare as possessed of an artistic conscience and to defend his plays as organic structures, I submit that my reason for Fabian's introduction is sound. It defends and preserves the integrity of Feste's character.

11. Although I claim credit for this interpretation as my own, the interested reader might compare George R. Foss, a professional producer, in his remarks upon the play in *What the Author Meant,* Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 85-88. Also, and rather strangely, considering how many critics misread the opening speech

of Orsino, Richmond Noble, in his *Shakespeare's Use of Song,* Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 83, caught at least the comedy of Orsino, "an exotic in search of a sensation, ... the Renaissance counterpart of the aesthetic so mercilessly satirized by Gilbert." Recently I discovered another kinspirit in Farjeon, *op. cit.,* p. 70, commenting upon Orsino and Olivia: "These two characters are in reality creations in the subtlest comic vein, the one in love with love, the other in love with grief, both figures of delicate mockery. If this were realized by the actors, the flexibility of their affections manifested in the final scene would not appear so improbable, and the love of Olivia for Viola-Cesario would stay within the bounds of comedy, instead of edging over the borderline into realms almost Sophoclean;" and p. 71: "I have yet to see Orsino and Olivia, who should be presented as pure fantastics, delicate creations in the comic vein. 'Away before me, to sweet beds of flowers: Love-thoughts lie rich, when canopied with bowers.' That is Orsino: an emotional sybarite who does not realize that Feste is pulling his leg when he cries, 'Now the melancholy god protect thee!' As for Olivia, is she not, in memory of a dead brother, resolved to 'water once a day her chamber round With eye-offending brine'? and must we not agree with Viola when she says to Olivia that 'you do think you are not what you are?' We need Mrs. Patrick Campbell for Olivia." Singularly acute, and delightful, this last suggestion.

12. Bradley, *loc. cit.,* p. 213.

13. Richmond Noble, "Shakespeare's Songs and Stage," in *A Series of Papers,* cited in footnote 4; for a larger discussion of these songs and their relationship to Feste, *vide* Noble, *op. cit.,* pp. 83-86.

14. Michael Roemer, "An Aspect of Modern Comedy," *Halcyon,* Spring 1948, p. 44.

15. Tilley, *loc. cit.,* pp. 564-566.

16. Austin K. Gray, "Robert Armine, the Foole," PMLA, XLII (1927), 684. *Cf.* the atrabilious and vicious attack on Armine in Frank O'Connor, *The Road to Stratford,* London, Methuen, 1948, pp. 73-74, comparing what is strangely called "The slick, bloodless, homosexual patter" of Armine with Kempe's "robuster buffoonery." Of *Twelfth Night,* the pugnaciously assertive Irishman remarks: "It is, of course, excellent theatre, but the lyric quality is fitful and slight, and Armin's icy slickness invests all the characters in an impenetrable armour of allusiveness. . . . The weakness is the weakness of all cleverness: the glassy surface, the lack of inner perspective. The epigrams, all to one tune, are rolled off suavely like those in a Wilde play, but though one thinks of the epigrams themselves one never thinks of who said them or in what connection . . . So far as I recollect, malapropism as a source of fun practically disappears from the plays, and its place is taken by patter and repartee; and something of warmth, of kindness, of the poetry of the inn and the village green disappears with it. We no longer hear the music of 'He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler.' It is as though the lights were going out in Shakespeare's mind." Well! Despite my love for "the poetry of the inn and the village green," despite my Irish heritage, I can only say, *de gustibus, etc.*

17. Noble, *op. cit.,* p. 85.

18. Bradley, *loc. cit.,* p. 211.

19. *Ibid.,* p. 208.

20. Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare,* New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, pp. 269-270.

21. Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare Comedy,* New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 188, in a paragraph which in a sense summarizes Bradley's interpretation, dismisses the essay itself as "charming, but perhaps too subjective." I hesitate to prophesy the verdict of my friend Dr. Parrott on this *reprise,* should it come to his attention.

22. *Cf.* an apparently related bit of recent impressionism, Farjeon, *op. cit.,* p. 76: "The English climate was as damp in Elizabeth's day as it is now. The groundlings

must often have stood in the rain (being as enthusiastic as football crowds) during open-air performances. If 1601 was a wet summer, what an apt song for an auditorium open to the sky must have been the Clown's 'With hey, ho, the wind and the rain!' Can't you see the groundlings, as they join in the chorus, drawing their old cloaks around them?" I could, if I could get over that difficulty of Twelfth Night and a wet summer, which somehow disturbs me.

23. Virginia Woolf, *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays,* New York, Harcourt, Brace, c. 1942, pp. 45-46.

ARTFUL BREVITY IN SHAKESPEARE'S MONOLOGS

By Warren Smith

NEARLY every reader of Shakespeare soon becomes aware that the dramatist periodically halts the normal interchange of dialog in his plays to insert one of four types of monolog: soliloquy, apostrophe,[1] aside,[2] or scroll reading. But it might be of interest to investigate the stagecraft behind the number of lines expended on these conventions, thereby to determine what principles of playhouse practice seem to have influenced the limitations of length the playwright placed upon each kind of monolog.

A close study of all Shakespearean soliloquies seems at first to reveal but little, for they range in length from as many as seventy-two lines[3] down to only half a line,[4] or, as in one instance, even two words.[5] A few soliloquists in the earliest plays do show a tendency to be longer-winded[6] than their successors of later date, but there appears to be no sharp contrast according to period. In fact, most of the early plays with exceptionally long soliloquies contain as well examples of very brief ones.[7] The same Proteus who encompasses a whole scene with one soliloquy,[8] for instance, is limited to but three lines in another.[9]

Purposeful contrast in length seems to become evident, however, when we separate those soliloquies given by an actor while he is alone on the stage from those delivered while other actors lurk somewhere in the background as eavesdroppers. Soliloquies given in the presence of other actors are consistently shorter. Whenever this type of soliloquy threatens to exceed a reasonable maximum, moreover, the dramatist breaks it up into smaller sections with comments from the eavesdroppers. The longest overheard soliloquy, for example, is the one of thirty-eight lines spoken by Henry VI while two keepers listen from their hiding place. Comments from the keepers break this up into three pieces, the longest of which extends to only twenty-seven lines.[10] And a more drastic process of

interruption is put upon Parolles' overheard soliloquy in *All's Well That Ends Well,* where the lords and soldiers in ambush divide what would have otherwise been a continuous monolog of thirty-two lines into fully nine separate sections.[11] But as we should expect, a keen sense of good theatre lies behind Shakespeare's practice of cutting his overheard soliloquies shorter than the others. For one thing, a long soliloquy unbroken by comments from the other players lurking in the background would run the danger of letting the audience forget their existence in the stage picture. Also, these hidden actors are always there for a dramatic purpose: to listen to what the soliloquist is revealing. Their periodical comments serve to inform the audience that they are doing so.

In general, the dramatist's apostrophes are notably shorter than his soliloquies, a good number of them not extending beyond two lines. The longest is given by Timon[12] as he stands alone[13] on the stage and raves to all the gods against mankind. But being completely alone, Timon, of course, is in a position similar to that of the pure soliloquist who gives his monolog on a stage otherwise unoccupied: with no other players around who could possibly break into the delivery, the audience does not anticipate interruption. In contrast to this type, apostrophes delivered with other characters on stage are much briefer, one containing but three words.[14] Moreover, the very nature of all apostrophes tends to limit the number of lines that artistically can be allotted to their delivery. All are directly addressed to abstractions,[15] inanimate objects,[16] or characters supposed to be incapable of hearing the words either because they are not on stage[17] the while or because they are dead.[18] Such indirectness, ignoring both the living characters on stage and the audience at the same time, cannot be prolonged with much hope of success beyond closely defined limits. Thus it is not surprising to discover that the great majority of apostrophes in Shakespeare do not extend beyond ten lines, especially since most apostrophes,[19] unlike soliloquies, are delivered in front of characters obviously intended to hear them, who thereby would be expected by the audience to interrupt monologs of much greater length.

The aside in Shakespeare is usually shorter than either the soliloquy or apostrophe, the great majority being limited to from one to four lines. The total number of lines in a series of asides exchanged between players, to be sure, may readily exceed the normal length of the single aside. Such a series (the most prolonged exam-

ple in the plays) occurs in *Othello,* where while the Moor writhes in the background out of earshot, Iago and Cassio carry on a dialog about Bianca which extends to fully seventy-four lines.[20] And in *Measure for Measure,* Claudio and Lucio seem to interchange another long series.[21] But even series of asides between actors rarely continue unbroken for as long as these two. Asides to the audiences, being single speeches rather than exchanges, are notably briefer. By far the most garrulous deliverer of this type is Leontes, who ignores both Camillo and Mamillius on the stage with him for twenty-eight lines while he confides his growing jealousy to the audience.[22] No other character in the plays is permitted to prolong such an aside for even half so many lines.[23] The reason Shakespeare generally cut his asides shorter than soliloquies or apostrophes becomes evident when we consider the situation of the actor during delivery. While an aside is being given, at least one actor on the open stage with the speaker must be totally ignored. Until the aside is finished there are but two courses such an actor, who is not supposed to hear the words, can take: he can pretend to be occupied with something or someone else, or he can "freeze" (hold his position without movement and his facial expression without change). Now a player can become only so active about some other matter without running the risk of distracting the attention of the audience from the deliverer of the aside. And he can remain frozen in the picture for just so long without looking foolish. Hence the shorter the aside (especially when directed to the audience) the better for those actors on stage who must be ignored during the delivery.

When the actor playing the part of Celia in *As You Like It* entered the stage and read from a scroll[24] the thirty lines of Orlando's verses (III.ii.133-162) to Rosalind and Touchstone, he reached the top limit of time Shakespeare allows anyone to read aloud continuously.[25] And upon the reading of Orlando's poem the dramatist has Rosalind make the rather fitting comment:

> O most gentle pulpiter! what tedious homily of love have you wearied your parishioners withal and never cried, 'Have patience, good people'! (163-166)

As we have seen Shakespeare do with overheard soliloquies and asides to the audience, he usually breaks scroll readings of any such length into smaller sections, with comments from other characters on the stage at the time, or with observations from the reader himself. For illustration, Malvolio must read aloud (and we are glad

he does) the entire twenty-eight lines of the letter planted for him by Maria—but Sir Toby, Fabian, and Malvolio himself break the delivery into four sections.[26] At another point in *Twelfth Night,* comments from Fabian divide Sir Toby's reading of the eighteen-line challenge written by Sir Andrew into six small parts.[27] But the thinnest slicing of a scroll reading is done in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* by Launce to Speed's rendition of the "catalog" which sets forth the virtues of Launce's milkmaid. Here the severed members of a scroll of only twenty-three lines are spread over fully seventy-five lines of text.[28] Other scrolls that would otherwise lengthen out beyond a reasonable period of continuous reading time are treated less drastically but similarly. That scroll readings are cut so short is also dramaturgically sound practice. They are the most lifeless of all the conventions which depart from the normal play of dialog. Whether a player actually reads lines that are written on the scroll before him or merely holds a blank sheet and fakes the reading, the effect is the same. To show that he is reading rather than commenting on the contents of the scroll, he must make his voice take on a distant tone. His eyes must be on the scroll at least part of the time during delivery. The convention, in brief, forces the player to drop temporarily the intimate contact necessary to the lively interplay of emotions in the theatre. For the time being, too, other actors on stage are pushed at least half-way out of the picture. What is worse, the audience feels it is being half shunned until the actor pockets his letter and becomes a vital force again. The modern camera saves moving-picture audiences from this feeling by literally allowing them to read letters over the film player's shoulder. But even when, as over the radio, modern audiences cannot see the reader, the indirectness that must often creep into his voice when he reads becomes irritating if it continues too long. Thus when we examine the stagecraft of a playwright so conscious of the needs of his audience as William Shakespeare, we expect him not to prolong his readings of scrolls beyond the normal endurance of his customers. And, as with the other types of monolog, he lives up to expectations.

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[1]Even the apostrophe delivered by an actor alone on stage differs from the pure soliloquy in that it is neither a direct address to the audience nor "introspective." See my article, "The Shakespearean Apostrophe", *SAB,* xxiii (October, 1948). 195-200.

[2]The aside exchanged between actors, to be sure, technically is a form of dialog rather than monolog. Morris Arnold (*The Soliloquies of Shakespeare,* New York, 1911, p. 3) labels the monolog-aside, that is addressed to the audience, as an "apart."

[3]*3 Henry VI,* III.ii.124-195. Line markings are from G. L. Kittredge (ed.), *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* Boston, 1936.

[4]*Troilus and Cressida,* V.iii.95

[5]*Love's Labour's Lost,* IV.iii.22: "Ay me!" *Cf. Romeo and Juliet,* II.ii.25.

[6]See *3 Henry VI,* II.v.1-54; *2 Henry VI,* I.i.214-259; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* II.vi.1-43; and *Richard II,* V.v.1-66.

[7]For example: *3 Henry VI,* II.iii.1-5; *2 Henry VI,* I.ii.61-67; and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* IV.iii.1-3. *Richard II* contains only the one soliloquy.

[8]See above, note 6.

[9]*The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* I.i.159-161

[10]*3 Henry VI:* III.i.13-21, 24-25, and 28-54

[11]IV.i.27-34, 37-47, 50-52, 54-55, 57-58, 60-61, 63, 66-67, and 69

[12]*Timon of Athens,* IV.i.1-41

[13]For differentiation between the kind of apostrophe given by Timon and the pure soliloquy, see note 1 above.

[14]*The Taming of the Shrew,* I.ii.229

[15]For example: to "outrage" (*Richard III,* II.iv.63-65), to "Fortune" (*Romeo and Juliet,* III.v.60-64), to "Wit" (*Twelfth Night,* I.v. 35-40), to "fate" (*Troilus and Cressida,* V.vi.25-26). I put in the same category the several apostrophes in the plays addressed to the "gods."

[16]For example: to a sword (*2 Henry VI,* IV.x.72-76), to Pomfret Castle (*Richard III,* III.iii.8-13), to a picture of a "blinking idiot" (*The Merchant of Venice,* II.ix. 56-57), to a vial of poison (*Romeo and Juliet,* V.i.85-86).

[17]See *Richard III,* III.iv.91-92; *Much Ado About Nothing,* V.i.259-260; *Cymbeline,* IV.i.17-21; *The Winter's Tale,* II.ii.2-4.

[18]See *2 Henry VI,* IV.x.86-90; *3 Henry VI,* II.ii.54-55; *1 Henry IV,* V.iii.22-24; *Julius Caesar,* V.iii.80-87; *Hamlet,* V.i.266-269.

[19]More than half of the 216 apostrophes I detect in the plays.

[20]IV.i.104-177

[21]I.ii.146-198, not marked as asides in Kittredge, *ed. cit.*

[22]*The Winter's Tale,* I.ii.180-207, sometimes considered as a soliloquy. But the text shows that the speaker is fully aware of the presence of the other characters; also, no character eavesdrops, which would not be the case with a soliloquy.

[23]Second to Leontes is Macbeth, who ignores Ross, Angus, and Banquo for thirteen lines (*Macbeth,* I.iii.130-142).

[24]E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare,* I,198) feels that such lines were written on the scrolls which the actors carried on stage.

[25]Dumain's "sonnet", of twenty lines (*Love's Labour's Lost,* IV.iii.101-120), is the second longest continuous reading.

[26]*Twelfth Night:* II.v.100-101, 107-110, 115-118, and 155-172

[27]III.iv.161-162, 164-166, 170-173, 176-177, 179-180, and 183-187

[28]III.i.302-376

BELLEFOREST AND THE GONZAGO STORY: HAMLET, III.ii

By G. Blakemore Evans

NO ONE I believe has drawn attention to the possible connection between certain elements of the Gonzago story in *Hamlet* and the conclusion of the Hamlet story as told by Saxo Grammaticus through Belleforest. Long ago Furness dismissed the last chapters of the original Hamlet story with these words:

"There remain two more chapters of *The Historie of Hamblet, Prince of Denmarke.* As the interest of the story ceases here, so far as Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is concerned, the poet having made no use of it beyond this point, I subjoin merely the titles of the last two chapters."[1]

And the same view seems to have been generally accepted by later editors. Yet some connection between the play-within-the-play and incidents concerned with Amleth's death as related by Saxo seem to me clearly suggested.

After the Player-Queen has protested her undying love for her husband, the Player-King replies:

> Faith, I must leave thee, love, and shortly too;
> My operant powers their function leave to do.
> And thou shalt live in this fair world behind,
> Honour'd, belov'd, and haply one as kind
> For husband shalt thou—

The Player-Queen interrupts, declaring her complete aversion to a second husband under any circumstances:

> In second husband let me be accurst!
> None wed the second but who kill'd the first.

But her husband answers:

> I do believe you think what now you speak;
> But what we do determine oft we break . . . .
> Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.
> So think thou wilt no second husband wed;
> But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.

The Player-King now dies, poisoned, and his wife, as we learn from the dumb-show, almost immediately seeks refuge in the arms of the murderer.

If we turn now to Belleforest's translation and expansion of Saxo's narrative, we find the following account of the events leading up to Amleth's death:

Mais au bout de quelque temps, Vviglere, desireux de tenir tout le pays en sa subiection, ... & que aussi Hermetrude (que Amleth aymoit plus que soymesme) avoit intelligence avec luy, & luy avoit promis mariage, pourveu qu'il l'ostast des mains de celuy qui la detenoit, envoya defier Amleth, & luy denoncer la guerre a toute outrance. Ce bon & sage Prince aymant son peuple, eust voulu chercher les moyens d'eviter c'este guerre, mais la refusant il voyoit une grande tache pour son honneur, & l'acceptant so fin luy paroissoit certaine: . . . . Mais le pys qui gastoit ce vertueux Prince, estoit le trop de fiance qu'il avoit en sa femme Hermethrude, & l'amitié trop vehemente qui luy pourtoit, ... Or le plus grand regret qu'eust ce Roy affolé de sa femme, estoit le separation de celle, qu'il idolatroit, & s'asseurant de son desastre, eust voulu, ou que elle luy eust tenu côpaignie à la mort, ou luy trouver mary qui l'aymast, luy trespassé, a l'esgal de l'extreme amour qu'il luy portoit: mais la desloyale avoit desia pourveu à ses nopces, sans que son mary fallut qui se meit en peine pour luy en pratiquer: lequel elle voyant riste pour l'amour d'elle, & se devant absenter de sa compaigne, elle, pour le coifer d'advantage, & l'encourager d'aller à sa deffaicate, luy promist de le suyvre par tout, & de iouyr de mesme fortune que luy, fust elle mauvaise, ou telle qu'il la souhaitoit, ... & que la femme estoit malheureuse, laquelle craignoit de suivre & accompaigner son mary a la mort: si qu'a louyr parler, on eust dit que c'estoit l'espouse d'un Mithridate, ou Zenobie Royne des Palmireniens, tant elle s'affectionnoit a la matiere, & faisoit parade de sa constance, & ferme amitié. Mais a l'effect on veit combien vaine fut la promesse de ceste volage Princesse, . . . car Amleth ne fut pas si tost au camp, qu'elle trouva les moyens de voir Vviglere, & la bataille estant donnee, & le miserable Danoys mys à mort, Hermethrude se rendit avec les despouilles de son mary mort, ntre les mains de Tyran, lequel plus que content de ses metamorphoses tant desirees, donna ordre que soudain

fut solemnisé le mariage acheté avec le sang, & richesses du fils de Horvvendille.[2]

Four common elements between the Belleforest version of Saxo and the Gonzago story are here apparent,—only one of them also present in the Claudius-Gertrude relationship. In both we find a husband laboring under the fear of imminent death, the suggestion of a second husband,[3] the wife who "doth protest too much," and the speedy entente between the instigator of the husband's death and the "faithful" wife. These links need not, of course, cast doubt upon the sometime existence of a Gonzago tale "written in very choice Italian," but the possibility of influence from the original story of Amleth's death is at least worth observing, especially when we consider that the author of the *Ur-Hamlet,* unlike later readers, would not approach Saxo-Belleforest with Shakespeare's play in mind (not knowing in advance what he was looking for), and would have no good reason for skipping the last chapters of the old legend.

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[1]*Hamlet,* New Variorum Edition, 1877, II, 113.

[2]I quote from the critical text of the 1576 edition, published as an Appendix to M. Blakemore Evans' *Der bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeares Hamlet* (in *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen,* 1910, XIX, 140-142).

[3]The exact motive for the Player-King's suggestion about a second husband is not clear. It may be either from jealousy or from solicitude for his wife's future, as in Saxo. In *Hamlet* Q1 the solicitude motive seems stronger, but still the point is confused.

QUARTERLY REVIEWS

Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies

BY WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

I

THE JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS MEMORIAL STUDIES was published last year by the Folger Shakespeare Library under the editorship of James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby. It contains a frontispiece portrait of Dr. Adams, an appreciation by Stanley King, former President of Amherst, a biographical sketch by Professor Lane Cooper, a bibliography of Dr. Adams' books and articles, and 53 tributary articles by American and English scholars, on Shakespearean and Renaissance topics. The volume runs to over eight hundred pages, is handsomely printed with almost no errors, and might be called by a humorist the memorial to end all memorials.

Actually the level of technical scholarship is very high and the authors with rare exceptions conduct themselves with correctness, suavity, and restraint. There are usually not too many footnotes or an unnecessary display of erudition; and if the essays seldom have flavor or wit, they at any rate—again with rare exceptions—do not descend from sobriety to ponderous jargon or obscurity. In quality of execution and in interest or importance of subjects they compare well with the contents of the learned quarterlies—about as many small points are scored for each major one, and in as workmanlike a way. The reader will therefore get from the *Adams Studies* a good notion of the range of current scholarly interest in Shakespeare and his age; only the history of criticism finds no direct representation.

It is obviously impossible in a review, no matter how generous the latitude allowed, to deal adequately with the fifty-odd papers here collected. An attempt will be made, however, to group them loosely and to discuss or describe briefly the more interesting or representative papers in each group.

II

Most timely, perhaps, of all the essays, and as important as any is Professor Oscar J. Campbell's destructive analysis of current imagery- and symbolism-hunting technique in "Shakespeare and the 'New' Critics."[1] "The new critics," he writes, "demand that a poem be a coherent system of images organized so artfully as to embody the essential imaginative significance of the work . . . [it] must state an experience in terms of conflict between two extreme opposites." In criticizing Shakespeare's plays the new critics also adopt T. S. Eliot's belief "that in a play of Shakespeare there are several levels of significance . . . for the auditors of the most delicate sensibility there is a meaning implicit in the imagery which reveals itself only gradually."

Campbell then exposes the absurdities of this critical gospel by analyzing the interpretation of *Macbeth* by Cleanth Brooks and of *Measure for Measure* by an English disciple of the school. He concludes:

"They approach each play of Shakespeare under a compulsion to find in his poetry those characteristics which T. S. Eliot and his followers have decided must be present in all pure poetry. They assume therefore that Shakespeare, like Donne, constructed an integrated system of connotation based on the iteration of certain words, to which the poet had given an arbitrary symbolical value. And they make the further assumption that in this system of sequence and repetition of images all the poetry of the play is fused into one intense impression." After examining the applications of this philosophy, he observes: "But Shakespeare seems never to have manipulated his imagery in this consciously scheming fashion. His poetry rather gives the effect of a spontaneous eruption from that secret region of the mind where the imaginative impulse is generated." He concludes that Shakespeare's use of imagery was dramatic, in relation to situation and character, not a basic metaphysical, ethical, or sociological proposition. This is an opinion in which all those who see the plays as primarily designed for the theater will heartily concur.[1]

III

Another current source of lively controversy is the comparative responsibility of the native and the foreign dramatic tradition for the stage practice of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In recent

years the medievalists, led by Professor Willard Farnham, have been having it their own way. Farnham here, in "The Medieval Comic Spirit in the English Renaissance," makes an interesting observation that in the well-known mixture of the comic or grotesque with the religious or tragic in medieval literature and art "the Gothic genius was providing an assault from within itself against its own pride of spirit;" and that the medieval attitude influenced the portrait of Falstaff (more Vice than braggart) and of Lear's fool.

Three articles, on the other hand, deal with classical influences. Professor T. W. Baldwin enjoys himself hunting up and down the centuries the *Comedy of Errors* pun, "Respice finem . . . 'beware the rope's end'." Senecan influence is the thesis behind Professor F. R. Johnson's "Shakespearian Imagery and Senecan Imitation" and Professor Hardin Craig's "Shakespeare and the History Play." Of the former piece it may be said that it sets Shakespeare scholarship the task (well-nigh impossible, as the author's conclusion virtually admits) of determining not "his indebtedness to some particular Latin poem for ideas and images but . . . how and why, in accord with the doctrine of imitation which he learned from his schooling, he selected, combined, and transmuted the material which first fired his imagination." Professor Craig takes ground directly opposed to the Schelling-G. P. Baker conception of the chronicle play as a native epical form, and also to the Farnham-Howard Baker emphasis on medieval influences. Like Manly he would call *Gorboduc* a chronicle play, since "the chronicle play is a grouping of dramas, not on the basis of form, but of subject matter and purpose." Admitting that many plays represent a compromise between the native form and Senecan tragedy, he proceeds to emphasize the latter influence, by classifying many of the longer speeches in the Henry VI plays and *Richard III* as reproductions of Senecan rhetorical forms. Hesitation to go the whole way with Professor Craig will be based on the reflection that much of what is labeled Senecan may derive from the native poetic and dramatic tradition. There was irony before *Gorboduc,* expository monologue in miracle play and morality, debate, tirade, and apostrophe in Chaucer.

Professor Chew traces backward and forward from *As You Like It* the treatment of the Ages of Man in literature and in art. Professor Thomas P. Harrison, Jr., describes the Folger unique copy of *The Secret of Secrets* and its suggested influence on *1 Henry IV, King Lear,* and *The Shepherd's Calendar.* In "The Imperial Theme"

Henry N. Paul argues that *Macbeth* is substantially indebted to Matthew Gwinne's *Vertumnus,* Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae,* and John Leslie's *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum.* He cites interesting parallels, but in my judgment supports his case by unlikely interpretation of several passages in the play.

With these papers on "influences" may be grouped two excellent articles on Shakespeare's sources. Professor Matthew W. Black has a thorough and persuasive essay on *Richard II,* which rejects Dover Wilson's hypothesis of an "old play" reworked by Shakespeare. Professor Robert Adgar Law's "Belleforest, Shakespeare, and Kyd," presents a closely reasoned argument that in all its main features the development of the Hamlet story from the bare outline of Belleforest conforms to Shakespeare's usual practice; and that therefore there is little which can with any confidence be attributed to the *Ur-Hamlet,* by Kyd or whomever else. He grants the old play the ghost; on the strength of Nashe's allusion of 1589 he might also grant him the cold night on the battlements of Elsinore—and hence, perhaps, a substantial part of the play's scenario.

IV

On the related topics of staging and dramatic technique five essays call for mention. Professor George F. Reynolds, in *"Troilus and Cressida* on the Elizabethan Stage" works out a possible staging of the play for a Globe or an Inn of Court production, in an admirably clear and plausible manner. He shows it could be played with great simplicity in either theater or hall; he notes the absence of balcony scenes: he suggests the possibility of establishing some five relatively unchanging locations in a "Renaissance Terentian setting."

In contrast with this conservative and cautious article is "The Original Staging of *King Lear,"* by Dr. John C. Adams. Readers of *The Globe Playhouse* will not be surprised by the positiveness of this reconstruction. Adams's multiple stages (Was it seven?) are here again. He tells us that beyond peradventure in the Elizabethan drama two successive scenes never represent two essentially different places. He localizes many more scenes than would most students of the stage and hence has to have more scene-divisions than seem probable; he likes scenes indoors, as against Chamber's preference for threshold scenes; he moves characters back into the inner stage for

the concluding lines of a scene and closes the curtains to denote change of place; he stages important action on and behind the balcony.

It would be possible to contest a very large part of the *Lear* reconstruction. Let me say only that I find it impossible to believe that Act I, Scene ii, and Act II, Scene i, two scenes of substantial action involving numerous characters, were played on the upper stage.

In "Another *Othello* too Modern" Professor Stoll makes an effective rejoinder, along lines familiar to readers of his criticism, to the interpretation of *Othello* by Professor G. G. Sedgwick. (Sedgwick thinks audiences regard the marriage as miscegenation; thinks the tragic outcome inevitable even without Iago; plays the changes on "irony" like the newest of the "New" critics.)

Professor M. A. Shaaber in "The Unity of *Henry IV*" is not so convincing as Professor Stoll. He vigorously denies the unity of the two parts of the play as expounded by Dover Wilson and Tillyard. Effective in rebuttal of their more extreme propositions, the essay itself takes too extreme a position in support of the independence of the two plays. It has been argued before now that Part II was an afterthought, on the basis of the greater space allotted comedy and the slight and repetitious historical action. But there are weighty grounds for rejecting this view:

1) The last speech of Part I looks directly forward to the military action of Part II. 2) The source materials in *The Famous Victories* and in Holinshed dealing with the latter part of the reign of Henry IV can hardly have been discarded by the dramatist and rescued from the wastebasket when Part I proved to be a great success. He must, it would seem, have saved them; must originally have planned to utilize the final misunderstanding and reconciliation of Hal and the King, the latter's death, and the rejection of Falstaff as the climax of a second play. He cannot have planned to forego the taking of the crown and all its dramatic prelude and sequel, nor to begin *Henry V* with either the death of Henry IV or the rejection scene. 3) The close parallels between Parts I and II in the alternation of historical and comic scenes, cited by Professor Shaaber as evidence that Part II is an afterthought, actually represent standard and not greatly varied practice in plays of double plot. 4) The speech tag *Old.,* surviving in Q_1 of Part II (I,ii. 137), points to some

work on Part II having been done before the production of Part I annoyed the descendants of Sir John Oldcastle.

Professor John W. Spargo, writing on "The Knocking on the Gate in *Macbeth*," collects allusions from Horace to Dekker in support of the argument that in Elizabethan minds the knocking was associated with death and hence marks a climax of horror rather than the relief or relaxation from a return to ordinary life which DeQuincey supposed. It might be suggested that the detail has a composite rather than a simple effect, including (1) Professor Spargo's death knock, (2) dramatic tension at the pending exposure of the crime, and (3) as DeQuincey so vividly drew it, the contrast between the dark world of murder and the daylight of ordinary life.

V

Three essays present aspects of Shakespeare's thought. Writing on "Shakespeare's Ideal Man," Professor Alfred Harbage takes off from works by Mazzini, Santayana, T. S. Eliot, Bernard Shaw, Frank Harris, and others which state or imply a shortcoming or limitation in the dramatist's character portrayals. Shakespeare's good characters, he declares, represent ideals conceived by him to be good, and we should see what they are before condemning them. His survey of Shakespeare's good characters points to three indispensable qualities: the ideal man "must be scholarly, soldierly, and honest." The essay scrutinizes and discriminates these qualities in detail.

Professor R. C. Bald, in " 'Thou, Nature, art my Goddess': Edmund and Renaissance Free-Thought," observes (1) that in *Lear* "the key word to denote the regulating principle not merely in human relationships but within the cosmos as well is not 'order' or 'degree' but 'nature';" (2) that Edmund in his first soliloquy uses nature in a different sense, for "action prompted by instinct or impulse", a concept found in some classical and medieval writers and in Donne, and in seventeenth century freethinkers ("Edmund's words, therefore . . . were deliberately intended to shock and startle . . . Anarchy is his creed"); (3) that Edmund's attitude toward astrology is that of the freethinker, like Iago's and Cassius' ("Such individualism, Shakespeare implies, is subversive, for it threatens the higher principle of order.")—This is no doubt quite correct, but it must be remarked that the dramatist seems to have enjoyed free-thinking by proxy; he had the fun and his characters took the beating.

The third essay in this group, Donald J. McGinn's "The Precise Angelo," argues that *Measure for Measure* shows Shakespeare's "sympathy with the Old Faith" and is "a defense of Christian charity against the unbalance of the Puritans . . . The benevolent roles played by the Catholic Duke and Isabella could not be the product of a mind hostile to Roman Catholicism." Leaving one side the general interpretation of this much-debated play, one may agree to this particular absence of hostility. But one must add that Shakespeare did not have a "hostile" mind: he was not hostile to Jews, to Germanic pagans, to cynic philosophers, to suiciding Romans, nor to ladies of easy virtue from tavern wenches to Eastern queens.

VI

The papers dealing with the more technical questions of the text of Shakespeare and the canon must be treated cursorily.

Professor Fredson Bowers, continuing his disagreement with Dr. Greg's inferences from his study of the Pide Bull quarto of *King Lear,* undertakes a minute examination of "the actual mechanical processes by which the Elizabethan printer proofed his sheets." Professor Charlton Hinman adequately demonstrates that the Second Quarto of *Othello* (1630) does not rest upon any independent manuscript, and hence has no authority. Professor G. B. Harrison in "A Note on Coriolanus" pushes his defense of F_1 line division too hard and with somewhat specious reasoning. Professor Albert H. Carter's "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* of 1609" is an elaborate but not very clear study, largely in statistical form. It deduces a fairly obvious truth from a mass of data which seem to me not well interpreted.

The canon gets little attention. Professor H. T. Price in "Mirror-Scenes in Shakespeare" makes an admirable exposition of the use of these not strictly necessary scenes to illuminate the theme, or for contrast, or for modification of suspense. Undertaken as a defense of Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus Andronicus,* III, ii, the argument lends support to the authenticity of scenes in other plays often under suspicion, such as *Macbeth,* II, iv and III, vi. Professor George C. Taylor's attempt to answer affirmatively his question "Did Shakespeare, Actor, Improvise in *Every Man in His Humour?*" carries little conviction to one reader. (Even less convincing—to step out of the Shakespearian field—is Gerald J. Eberle's dependence on vocabulary and phrasal tests in dividing *the Family of Love* between Middleton and Dekker.)

VII

The remaining Elizabethan studies, nearly half the volume, must be dealt with swiftly and hence unfairly.

The following essays should be read for profit and enjoyment:

Miss Helen C. White's classically phrased review of "Sixteenth Century Devotional Literature"; John Leon Lievsay's useful collection, "Some Renaissance Views of Diogenes the Cynic"; Lawrence Babb's descriptive and cautionary essay, "On the Nature of Elizabethan Psychological Literature"; Theodore Spencer's "The Elizabethan Malcontent," placing the malcontent among melancholiacs and speculating on the cause of his sudden emergence at the end of the century; F. P. Wilson's "Some Notes on Authors and Patrons in Tudor and Stuart Times"; C. T. and Ruth Prouty's detailed and suggestive "George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie,* and Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth"; Harold S. Wilson's "The Humanism of Gabriel Harvey," depicting him as a "'secular humanist" of the older generation, "a Ciceronian of the generation of Sidney and Spenser"; C. J. Sisson's identification of the source of the Dapper scenes in *The Alchemist* in a fraud perpetrated against a relative by marriage of John Donne; G. E. Bentley's "Randolph's *Praeludium* and the Salisbury Court Theatre;" and G. P. V. Akrigg's "The Curious Marginalia of Charles, Second Lord Stanhope," containing a liberal sampling of the "jumbled brains" of "one of the more curious members of the English aristocracy."

The other articles in the latter half of the volume all assemble biographical, bibliographical or other facts, of varying importance but not demanding special mention.

VIII

EPILOGUE

To those whose studies have not been mentioned,
To those who have had less praise than they deserve,
To those whose results have been distorted by misplaced praise
or wrong interpretation,
To those with whom the critic in his wisdom has found fault,
In short, to all the contributors to this monumental volume:
"As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence set me free."

Brown University

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[1]See R. W. Babcock's "Mr. Heilman on *King Lear*," SAB, April, 1949 (Editor's note).

Granville-Barker's Shakespeare Criticism

BY ROBERT M. SMITH

The Princeton University Press has performed a service for Shakespeare scholars, teachers, and lay readers by making available in two handsome volumes an American edition of the revised texts of Granville-Barker's *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. In earlier form this critic and noted stage director prepared these essays for *The Players' Shakespeare,* a sumptuous project which was never completed. Subsequently, they were reissued in less pretentious form in three volumes in England. The second volume of the American edition contains, however, the preface to *Othello* and the preface to *Coriolanus,* completed shortly before the author's death, hitherto not generally available.[1]

Probably no set of critical essays has been so influential in Shakespeare criticism as Granville-Barker's since the appearance of A. C. Bradley's *Shakespeare Tragedy* in 1904. Bradley may be said to have written the standard philosophical interpretation and character analyses from the point of view of the scholar examining minutely the tragedies within the four walls of the library. All Shakespeare scholars are indebted to Bradley, often far more than they themselves realize or remember to acknowledge. Even now many students, suddenly seized by brilliant interpretations of character or of scene, are chagrined to discover that they are merely echoing Bradley who had elaborated these same points long before them.

The trend, however, in Shakespeare scholarship in recent years has been away from the study and back to the stage. So far has this trend gone even with the scholars that G. B. Harrison in his list of recommended commentaries omits Bradley. Granville-Barker's essays were pioneers in forcing the realization that Shakespeare's plays had other meanings, often quite different, when viewed in the light of how they were acted in Shakespeare's theatres and what their meaning could have been to Shakespeare's audience. Since Shakespeare obviously wrote the plays primarily for his Company rather than for readers, it was not surprising that when Granville-Barker, the experi-

enced stage manager and producer, set forth his interpretations, he should provide a wholesome corrective to a Shakespeare interpretation too closely confined to the library.

Among numerous instances that might be cited did space permit, an outstanding example to illustrate this difference in approach may be found in the treatment of *King Lear.* Bradley complains about the inconsistencies and the confusion of this Gothic structure and reiterates the traditional verdict from Charles Lamb that it is better left to our imaginations in the quiet of the study. This complaint of Romantic and Impressionist critics from Lamb to Virginia Wolff that generally stage presentations destroy the imaginative pleasure of the play, Granville-Barker counters with the short statement: "Shakespeare meant it [Lear] to be acted, and he was a very practical playwright." He goes on to demonstrate that the difficulties for nineteenth century critics arose from never having seen other than various garbled versions; for actors it lay in their attempts to adapt Shakespeare to a five-act pattern on an upholstered, drop-curtained stage; and that to restore Shakespeare to his rightful meaning, his plays should be given rapidly and continuously with possibly only one pause in the middle. Stripped of eighteenth and nineteenth century theatre conventions and restored to Shakespeare's less elaborately decorated stage, many of the confusions and inconsistencies either disappear or serve to convey exactly the impression Shakespeare wished to give. Shakespeare, knowing from his practical experience in the theatre that they would not be noticed, never troubled to iron out the various inconsistencies of character or scene over which Bradley and numerous other critics have spent much labor and ink endeavoring vainly to reconcile what Shakespeare left unreconciled. Granville-Barker believed that before we begin to tamper with a play like *Lear* and cut out what is not to our taste, we should begin with the assumption that Shakespeare knew what he was doing. When his plays are properly staged, approximating the productions of his own day, a great many of the problems of Shakespeare scholars disappear. A valuable review with illustrations of these nineteenth century and modern efforts is provided by M. St. Clare Byrne, Lecturer in the History of Theatrical Art, Royal Academy of Dramatic Art.[2] Here we observe the varied attempts at profuse historical or antiquarian representations of Irving and Tree, the succeeding efforts at realism, followed by the return of William Poel and Granville-Barker to the Elizabethan tradition. So potent has become this

Elizabethan vogue that movements are afoot to build a reconstructed Globe or similar playhouse on the Bankside or in Stratford.

To Bradley's contention that "the *storm-scenes* in *King Lear* gain nothing", [from presentation] "and their *essence* is destroyed." Granville-Barker replies:

"Shakespeare may (it can be argued) have set himself an impossible task; but if he is to succeed it will only be by these means. In this mid-crisis of the play he must never relax his emotional hold on us. And all these things of which Bradley complains, the confussion of pathos, humor and sublime imagination, the vastness of the convulsion, the vagueness of the scene and the movements of the characters, the strange atmosphere and the half-realized suggestions —all this he needs as material for Lear's experience and ours" . . . "If the verity of his ordeal is really to be brought home to us, we must, in as full a sense as may be, pass through it with him, must make the experience and its overwhelming emotions momentarily our own."

Apparently there will always be this alternating emphasis upon Shakespeare as Poet for the library, and Shakespeare as Dramatist for the playhouse with excellent books of interpretation in each sphere. We see in Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare,* a worthy successor of the Bradley approach with slight reference to the theatre and in Margaret Webster's *Shakespeare Without Tears,* a brilliant follower of Granville-Barker in preachment and practice.

To restore for us in this way the dramatic and the emotional meaning of Shakespeare in the theatre was Granville-Barker's magnificent achievement and no Shakespeare reader can afford to be ignorant of it.

Lehigh University

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[1] *Prefaces to Shakespeare,* Vol. 1, *Hamlet, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Antony and Cleopatra, Cymbeline;* Vol. II, *Othello, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost,* Princeton, New Jersey, 1947. $5.00 a volume.

[2] *Shakespeare Survey,* Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1949.

Shakespearean Comedy

By Thomas Marc Parrott, Oxford University Press, 1949.xi-417pp.

BY MARY C. HYDE

A strain of comedy appears to run through almost all of Shakespeare's plays, following the tradition of mingled comedy and tragedy in early English drama. These observations, coupled with another, that "no historical and systematic treatment of Shakespearean comedy exists", are responsible for Professor Parrott's knowledgeable and detailed book on the subject, which he has dedicated to fellow members of the distinguished Shakspere Society of Philadelphia.

Professor Parrott makes it clear from the the outset that he wishes to handle his subject according to a conventionally objective method. This calls for a review of the medieval and renaissance drama forms, a resumé of the known facts of Shakespeare's early years, and a report upon the theatre and theatre problems which confronted the playwright as an apprentice. After this full introduction, the reader is given, in small groupings according to genre, and in approximately chronological order, a play by play recital of the Shakespeare canon. In the discussion of each play, the source is stated if known, the original plot reviewed, and Shakespeare's interpretation of it examined, with a notation of the success or failure of his play both at the hands of the sixteenth century and of modern audiences. In the final paragraph of each description Professor Parrott points out the instances of comedy that occur in action, speech, and character. After the reader has completed his survey of thirty-four plays, it is expected that he can understand clearly the method of Shakespeare's comedy.

Unfortunately, this is not so. In the case of the history play, if one gathers together Professor Parrott's scattered comments on comedy, one finds: of *Henry VI Part I* "Needless to say we look in vain for comedy in the scenes assigned to Shakespeare . . . ." (p.209) In the Second Part of *Henry VI* two comic scenes are described: the exposure of Simpcox; and the argument between Horner and Peter; and the serio-comic figure of Cade is noted. Of *Henry VI Part III* Professor Parrott says "There is not a single scene that can be classed as

comic in effect, such as those already noted in the Second Part of *Henry VI*". (p.218) Very little comedy is found in *Richard III*. "Yet when all has been said and every grain of comic matter sifted out from *Richard III*, the fact remains that in this play Shakespeare is not quite himself". (p.222) The reader wonders what this means, for the foregoing examples have been noted according to Professor Parrott's chronology.

Following this chronology, the next play is *King John* of which Professor Parrott says, in commenting upon its source which contained considerable crude humor, "All this comic matter disappears in Shakespeare's adaptation. What remains of the comic? Not a great deal, to tell the truth, but enough to show that Shakespeare is moving away from the almost unmixed tragic tone of *Richard III*". (p.225) In *Richard II* Professor Parrott finds " a curious absence of anything like comedy." (p.230)

It is with the so-called Falstaff plays, *Henry IV* Parts I and II that comedy for the first time assumes a dominant position. Professor Parrott says of *Henry IV Part I* "The comedy of this serious chronicle play has been furnished by the action, the words, and the character of Falstaff." (p.244) In the Second Part of *Henry IV*, due to the extraordinary power of this character "comedy triumphs over history". (p.263) However, in *Henry V* comedy is assigned to the minor Falstaff characters. "Falstaff's name is not even mentioned in the first act", and in the second he is dispatched by death.

In view of the record one wonders how abundant comedy is in Shakespeare's history plays. The influence of medieval tradition is surely less than the influence of Marlowe. Professor Parrott says "There is little of comedy to be found in Shakespeare's histories until he has definitely won free from Marlowe's influence." (p.206) This being so, a discussion of contemporary histories would be more pertinent than a review of medieval custom, for Shakespeare as a practical playwright was influenced primarily by methods which were currently successful. In undertaking the history form it is natural that he followed popular patterns. This supposition, when applied to his desire to write in the fashionable satiric form, as easily accounts for his handling of those plays which Professor Parrott refers to as "the problem comedies".

In considering Shakespeare's tragedy one again finds the comic element less pervasive than one had imagined. ". . . little enough, of comedy in action, speech, and character" . . . "can be gleaned from *Titus*." (p.197) Of *Julius Caesar*, "There was no place for the laughter of comedy in such a play as this." (p.277) In *Othello* Professor Parrott finds an almost complete absence of comedy, as he does in *Timon of Athens*. There is "little of comic action" though "plenty of comedy in speech" in *Coriolanus*. (p.332) Of *Pericles* ". . . what comic matter can be found in (Shakespeare's) share of the play. The answer seems to be little or nothing." (p.374)

It is obvious, then, that in a number of Shakespeare's tragedies there is little evidence of comedy. Is this fact obscured by our familiarity with celebrated instances of its use: the comedy arising from certain characters: the Nurse, Peter, and Mercutio in *Romeo* and *Juliet*; the Fool and Edgar in *Lear*; Polonius, the players, the gravediggers in *Hamlet*; the Porter in *Macbeth*; Enobarbus and the Clown in *Antony and Cleopatra?* Why it is that comedy is so effectively used in these tragedies and is conspicuously lacking in others? Did Shakespeare's consummate sense of theatre preclude his use of the medieval type of tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth? In what ways did his use of comedy in tragedy differ from Chapman's and Jonson's? How did it differ from Middleton's "divertisement"? Did Shakespeare's concentration upon the tragic theme make him fearful of employing comedy until he had mastered a form integral to tragedy —irony? Are not the famous instances of comedy examples of irony, the bitter laughter which does not weaken but strengthens the force of total tragic impact?

Such questions Professor Parrott does not offer to discuss. His summation of the evidence is brief, a conclusion limited to six and a half pages, perhaps final testimony of his objective method. If so, his refusal to analyze the facts as fully as he demonstrated them is sorely missed by those not as well qualified to interpret the findings as is this eminent Shakespeare scholar, teacher, and editor.

However, though the reader may have to look further for an interpretation of Shakespearean comedy, he will be grateful for an interesting course in Shakespeare, one which stresses his problems as a playwright. Professor Parrott has been most successful in fulfilling his promise to give a glimpse of Shakespeare's workshop, in which

discussion, it may be added, considerable use has been made of bibliographical detail. It is refreshing to find a scholar who has respect for such matter and a realization of its effect and importance. The book is written in an easy, readable style, reflecting the knowledge and good nature of someone who has been a friend of Shakespeare's for many years.

Papers of the Bibliography Society of Virginia

BY E. B. EVERITT

The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia begins the publication of what is expected to be an annual volume of Papers, the first of which is dated 1948-1949. (Non-members may purchase Volume I for $3.50.) Paper-bound and rather sensitive to soiling, the first issue is a beautiful meeting of fine paper, excellent type, and craftsmanship in press work. The thorough reader will be annoyed at narrowness of the margins next to the spine, which were better calculated for a pamphlet than a two-hundred page book.

The book carries some half-dozen essays of interest to Elizabethans. The most searching study is Gerald J. Eberle's investigation of the printing of *Nosce Teipsum,* an excellent inferential reconstruction. It illustrates well the degree to which some scholars in their eager quest for certainties have been drawn from literature proper to the more palpable evidence of the old job-printing shops.

Giles E. Dawson contributes notes and reduced facsimiles for three eighteenth century forgeries of Shakespearean plays; James G. McManaway offers an interesting account of the recently discovered Sandys' translation of the *Metamorphoses,* (the first five books, printed 1621); and Philip Williams with the limited evidence of variant spellings of *Ile,—y,* and *do* infers that the "Pied Bull" *Lear* quarto was set up by a single compositor.

Lehigh University

NOTES & COMMENT

IT is a commonplace that the greatest drama has been produced in eras of expanding economy and some political stability; eras when there is a large and responsive public ready and able to support the stage. Such times should certainly make a prosperous *theatre*—and one would naturally turn to the wealthy and educated American public as a spur to one of the most creative theatres of modern times.

But this is not the case. Shakespearean productions might well be considered, for this country and England, the test of a nation's interest in the best of the past, and its ability to sponsor an active stage. And yet, in this as in other affairs theatrical, the American theatre lags far behind. A brief glance at the productions of Shakespeare in this season alone will prove that with all its economic stresses and strains, the English audience is supporting and witnessing dramatic production such as this country rarely sees.

For the brightest light on the American Shakespearean scene we have England to thank—Margaret Webster's touring repertory, her Shakespeare on Wheels, is doing for this country what countless British troupes have done throughout England every year. She has broadened Shakespeare's audience, which formerly witnessed only big city presentations on the one hand, and amateur productions on the other. Now *Hamlet* and *Macbeth,* professionally cast and produced, are playing in towns and colleges all over the country, on high school stages, in university auditoriums, and town halls; for the summer months the American Shakespeare Company will play in stock theatres as well.

Broadway this year beheld Richard Whorf's *King Richard III* for a short run, after a successful appearance in Boston, under the Boston Repertory Association. Outside of the British *Hamlet* film, this production marks the extent of professional Shakespeare in New York. The Barter Theatre toured with Robert Breen in *Hamlet,* and there is talk in the wind of a Madeleine Carroll *Merchant of*

Venice in the Theatre Guild next season. Also noted is Percy Mackaye's work, *Hamlet, King of Denmark,* which played at the Pasadena Playhouse under the direction of Gilmor Brown in April (See SAB, April, 1949). And while mentioning Shakespeare derivatives, we should list the Broadway hit, *Kiss Me, Kate,* the musical revamping that Cole Porter gave *The Taming of the Shrew.*

Against this, here is a partial roster of the British scene: In January, Laurence Olivier played *Richard III* at the New Theatre in London. Donald Wolfit's Repertory Company played at the Bedford Theatre in Camden Town, with a large group of plays including *King Lear, Twelfth Night, Macbeth, Much Ado, Merry Wives,* and others. He had Rosalind Iden and Patricia Jessel in his cast. The Glasgow Citizen's Theatre played *Macbeth;* the Sheffield Playhouse, *Twelfth Night;* and in Perth *As You Like It* was presented. This last presentation was among the Young Vic productions of the play on tour—(See illustration, SAB, April, 1949). The Nottingham Theatre Trust Ltd., played *Twelfth Night,* the Bristol Old Vic Company toured with *Romeo and Juliet,* the Maddermarket in Norwich beheld *Richard II* in February, and, moving over into the Empire, Sir Laurence Olivier took a repertory to Australia. And Coventry beheld *The Merchant of Venice.* There are of course, other productions not listed both in America and England, but the proportion is about as it stands here.

And yet it is not true that there is no interest in Shakespeare in this country. We simply have to look further than the professional stage. It is in the University Theatres, in the Experimental Group Theatres and the Playhouses that we find an active interest in the classics and the greats of drama, not the Bard alone. Here, too, we can give only a partial listing, but enough to show that there is considerable activity that must not be overlooked in evaluating the American scene. The Amherst *Julius Caesar,* presented in cooperation with the Folger Library on their Shakespearean stage, received notice in these pages in the April issue. This was televised, thus reaching a much larger public than the Swan of Avon is accustomed to finding in the U.S.; it even made *Life*—an unprecedented triumph for the Classics! Perhaps the most important amateur job is that done by the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, an annual summer affair, presenting a series of plays in August, including as great a mixture of Shakespearean types of drama as can be crammed into the repertory.

Other colleges throughout the country produce Shakespearean plays one at a time; they included, in this winter alone, the following roster: University of Missouri Workshop, *Twelfth Night,* College of St. Catherine, *Romeo and Juliet;* University of North Dakota, *Twelfth Night;* University of Indiana, *As You Like It;* the Richmond Professional Institute, *Romeo and Juliet, The Taming of the Shrew* and *Hamlet,* these with the College of William and Mary. Hamline University gave *Winter's Tale;* University of Maryland, *Taming of the Shrew,* University of Nebraska *Othello;* Cornell, *Macbeth;* NYU, *As You Like It, Julius Caesar, Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth* and *Hamlet;* University of Texas, *Richard II* and *Romeo and Juliet,* Utah State College *Merchant of Venice;* Oregon State, *Macbeth;* Wayne University, *King Lear;* Ithaca College, *Julius Caesar;* University of Minnesota, *Macbeth,* University of Wichita, *Taming of the Shrew,* and the University of Virginia, *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

All these productions, and above all, Margaret Webster's tour, have proved that there is an audience for Shakespeare even beyond the Mississippi—that he does not need the lights of Broadway or the reviews of a select group of city critics.

Laurie Strauss

The Shakespeare Association acknowledges with pleasure the receipt from England of the annual series entitled *Shakespeare Survey* (1949). Like its predecessor, it contains a review of Shakespeare in scholarship and in the theatre, and includes a number of valuable special studies. Among these are M. St. Clare Byrne's *Fifty Years of Shakespeare Production,* an account of the fashions in Shakespearean Production: 1898-1948, accompanied by illustrations extending from the sumptuous stagings of Henry Irving and Beerbohm Tree to the simpler ones of William Poel and Granville-Barker, followed by Shakespeare in modern dress, sets of the Old Vic, 1935-1938 and of the Shakespeare Memorial theatre, 1949, etc. The study inevitably shows that "the play's the thing"—that Shakespeare remains Shakespeare, however upholstered or bare the production may be. To look at the illustrations is to wish that it were possible to turn back the hand of time and attend all the performances.

R. C. Bald reviews in detail the controversial evidence over Shakespeare's hand in the manuscript of Sir Thomas More and con-

cludes that the evidence for the identity of the writing called D and Shakespeare's is stronger than any that has been made out for their being different, and that the essential case for Shakespeare's hand in the play remains substantially intact.

Elizabeth Marie Pope attempts a reconstruction of the Renaissance background with reference to which the audience witnessing *Measure for Measure* must have passed judgment on the moral issues of the play. The limitations that Renaissance doctrine set on charity and forbearance, the discrepancy between the concepts of religious mercy and secular justice lead the author to the conclusion that Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure,* clarified and strengthened the ordinary Christian doctrine of the age, held it true to its own deepest implications, and exemplified "a more Christian piece of thinking on the subject than nine out of ten professional Renaissance theologies."

One of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, Sister Monica, Ph.D., has been requested by the Vatican to send examples of her scholarly contributions for the Literary Exhibit to take place next year on the occasion of Pius XII's Jubilee. The Shakespeare Association congratulates Sister Monica on this recognition of her scholarship.

The Shakespeare Association learns with regret the passing of our Honorary Vice-President, Fritz Leiber, on October 14. Receiving the torch from Ben Greet and Robert Mantell, for years he carried on valiantly the tradition of Shakespeare repertory in America, playing with success numerous leading roles, among the memorable ones being Iago, King Lear and Macbeth. Of all the characters, he averred Macbeth was the most exacting for the actor. To live through and project the prolonged and excruciating "torture of the mind in restless ecstasy," left Leiber exhausted. The sheer malignancy of Iago's triumph in defeat, "From this time forth I never will speak word", was, in Leiber's opinion, a high point in Shakespeare's art. It is regrettable that the Shakespeare Repertory which was projected in Chicago in the Insull days of patronage came to naught; for Leiber, who was chosen to lead the group, would have created a permanent center of Shakespeare interest in the Middle West.

MEETING OF SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.

A special meeting of the Members of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc. was held at 26 East 63rd Street, New York, N. Y. on October 17, 1949, at 3 p.m. While the attendance in person was small, a gratifying number of members forwarded proxies. After the meeting was called to order, the following letter from Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was read:

October 12, 1949

> For over fifteen years I have been President of The Shakespeare Association of America and feel it is about time that younger people take over the office. I have been ill for over a year and cannot give the attention to it that the Association deserves. I am sure that in other hands the Association will prosper and not only spread the fame of Shakespeare but will add valuable contributions to Shakespearean scholarship.
>
> The Bulletin has greatly improved during the past year not only in appearance but in literary content. Some of the great scholars in this country and abroad have contributed most valuable articles to it and I am sure this should be continued with even greater results.
>
> With kind regards,
>
> Very sincerely,
>
> (signed) A. S. W. Rosenbach

Great appreciation was voiced by those present for the services of Dr. Rosenbach during his long tenure as President and the following resolution was adopted:

> RESOLVED, that the members of The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., in meeting assembled, hereby express their deep appreciation to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for his long and devoted service as President of the Association; for his generosity; for his continuous interest in the Association and the fulfillment of its pur-

poses; and for his maintenance of the Association during times of world trouble and stress, and

FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Dr. Rosenbach.

The Treasurer of the Association, Dr. James G. McManaway, read a financial report which was approved by the meeting. The report showed that the Association is in need of additional funds and it was agreed that new members should be sought and other means found for improvement of the financial situation.

A proposed program for simplifying the organization of the Association was presented, after which the old By-Laws and Rules were repealed and new By-Laws adopted. The text of the new By-Laws appears in this edition of the Bulletin.

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Robert M. Smith, John F. Fleming and Donald F. Hyde were elected Directors of the Association to serve until the next annual meeting.

The new Directors convened immediately after the adjournment of the meeting of members and voted to continue on the rolls the Honorary members listed in the Bulletin for October, 1948. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was elected Honorary President and John H. H. Lyon, First Honorary Vice President.

The following active officers were appointed:

PRESIDENT.....Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.

VICE PRESIDENT.....Donald F. Hyde

SECRETARY & TREASURER.....John F. Fleming

The Directors named as members of the Editorial Board, established in the new By-Laws, Professor Robert M. Smith,, Chairman, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Dr. James G. McManaway, Dr. Giles E. Dawson and Dr. Virgil Heltzel. Mr. Robert F. Herrick was appoint-

ed Managing Editor of the Bulletin and Mr. Sidney Thomas, Bibliographical Editor.

The following appointments were made to the Advisory Board:

James G. McManaway, Chairman

Thomas W. Baldwin	Robert A. Law
Hardin Craig	Thomas Marc Parrott
Madeline Doran	Henry N. Paul
John W. Draper	George F. Reynolds
Maurice Evans	Hyder E. Rollins
Willard E. Farnham	Matthias A. Schaaber
George B. Harrison	Elmer E. Stoll
William T. Hastings	George C. Taylor
Arthur Heine	Margaret Webster

Other appointments will follow.

At the meetings of both the members and the directors there was evident great enthusiasm and interest in the Association and the work it is performing. The new officers and directors have started plans for the coming year for the continued improvement of the Bulletin and the other activities of the Association.

BY-LAWS

of

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.

I

Membership

Section 1. The members of this association shall be the incorporators of the Association and such persons as may hereafter be elected to membership by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. The members shall be divided into the following classes:

Honorary Members: Those distinguished in Arts or Letters whom the Board of Directors may elect to such membership.

Patrons: Those who shall have donated $1,000 to the Association for general use of the Association or for such use as the Board of Directors and the donor may agree upon.

Life Members: Those who shall have contributed $100 for the support of the Association.

Sustaining Members: $10.00.

Active Members: $3.00.

SECTION 3. Any member in good standing may resign from the Association upon payment of accrued dues and indebtedness.

SECTION 4. At its discretion the Board may drop any person from membership.

SECTION 5. Any member who resigns his membership or who is dropped or who otherwise ceases to be a member, shall thereupon and thereby forfeit all his rights in the Association and in its property and franchises.

SECTION 6. Notices to members mailed to their addresses as recorded in the Association's records shall be valid for all purposes.

II

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

SECTION 1. Any organization whose activities are in accord with the aims of the Association and whose membership is of such character as to merit such recognition may upon invitation become an Affiliated organization.

SECTION 2. An Affiliated organization, 100% of whose members are members of the Association shall be classed as a Sustaining organization.

III

DUES

SECTION 1. Honorary Members, Patrons and Life Members shall be exempt from payment of dues.

SECTION 2. Each Sustaining Member shall pay annual dues of $10.00 and each Active Member shall pay annual dues of $3.00.

SECTION 3. The period covered by the annual dues shall be from Jan. 1 to Jan. 1 and dues paid within three months before Jan. 1 shall cover the period to Jan. 1 of the following year.

IV
Meetings Of Members

Section 1. The Annual Meeting of the members of this Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May of each year beginning with the year 1950, at such hour as shall be designated in the call and notice thereof, at the principal office of the Association or at such convenient place in the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as may be designated by the President.

Section 2. Notice of the time and place of the Annual Meeting of members shall be given by mailing written or printed notices of the same at least ten days prior to the meeting.

Section 3. At least ten days before the date of the annual meeting the Secretary shall report to the members the nominations which shall have been made by the Nominating Committee; and also the names of other nominees for the Board which nominations shall have been made in writing subscribed by at least thirty members of the Association and filed with the Secretary at least three weeks before the date of the annual meeting. The names of the members making such nominations shall be reported in the notice to the members.

Section 4. At all meetings of the members each member, except Honorary members, shall be entitled to cast one vote in person or by proxy on each question submitted at the meeting, and one vote for each place on the Board of Directors, provided that no member shall have the right of cumulative voting in the election of directors. One-third of the members of the Association or, if one-third be nine or more, nine of the members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any annual or special meeting of the members of the Association, but the members present at any meeting thereof less than a quorum may adjourn the meeting from time to time. The President and Secretary of the Association shall act as President and Secretary of each meeting of the members unless the meeting shall otherwise decide.

Section 5. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the President or Vice-President upon ten days' notice being given by the Secretary to each member.

Section 6. Every member entitled to vote may vote by proxy. Only a member present in person may act as such proxy.

V
Directors

Section 1. The property, business and affairs of the Association shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Directors which shall consist of five members. The Board of Directors shall have, in addition to the powers and authority expressly conferred upon it by these By-Laws, the right, power and authority to exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the Association as an association not for profit organized under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

Section 2. The first Board of Directors after the passage of these By-Laws shall be elected at the special meeting of the Association where such By-Laws are adopted and shall hold office until the annual meeting of members to be held in 1950 and until their successors shall have been elected and shall qualify. Thereafter the Board of Directors shall be elected from the members at each annual meeting of members.

Section 3. If the office of any Director becomes vacant by reason of death, resignation, disqualification or inability to act or otherwise, the Board of Directors by a majority vote may elect a successor who shall hold office until his successor shall have been elected and shall qualify.

Section 4. No person shall be eligible to the office of Director who is not a member of the Association.

Section 5. At its discretion the Board of Directors may remove any officer and any member of the Advisory Board, the Editorial Board or a Committee.

Section 6. The Board of Directors shall appoint the Advisory Board, the Editorial Board and all standing committees and may appoint such other committees as it deems advisable.

Section 7. No director shall receive any remuneration for his services.

Section 8. The Board of Directors shall designate the trust companies or banks in which the money or securities of the Associa-

tion shall be deposited. They shall designate the manner in which the funds of the Association are to be expended, and authorize the contribution to educational, charitable, and literary funds or projects and the manner in which such contributions shall be made.

SECTION 9. The Board of Directors shall cause a fair record of all its business to be kept, a report of which, prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Membership Corporations Law, shall be presented at each annual meeting.

VI

MEETINGS OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. The Board of Directors shall hold one regular annual meeting during each calendar year immediately following the annual meeting of members. No notice of such annual meeting need be given if it is convened immediately following the annual meeting of members.

SECTION 2. Special meetings of the Directors may be called by the President or by any two Directors on twenty-four hours' telephone notice to each Director, or on three days' notice by telegraph to each Director, or on seven days' written notice by mail to each Director.

SECTION 3. The Directors may, as they may from time to time by resolution determine, hold their meetings, regular or special, at any place other than the office of the Association and may at any such meeting transact any and all business pertaining to the Association. Unless otherwise provided in the notice of the meeting, all meetings of the Directors shall be held at the principal office of the Association in the City of New York, N. Y.

SECTION 4. Three Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting, but a majority of those present may adjourn any meeting from time to time without notice until a quorum is present. Any action taken or authorized by a vote of a majority of the Directors present at any meeting duly called and convened at which a quorum is present, will have the same force and effect as if all the Directors had been present and had taken or authorized such action.

SECTION 5. Any Director may waive notice of any meeting and attendance of such Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting.

VII

OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The Officers of the Association shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors held immediately following the annual meeting of members, and shall be an Honorary President, a President, as many Honorary Vice Presidents and Vice Presidents as the Board of Directors may determine, a Secretary and a Treasurer. Any two offices may be held by the same person except the office of President. The Board of Directors may appoint such other officers and agents as it shall deem necessary.

SECTION 2. No salary shall be paid to any officer of the Association.

SECTION 3. Any officer elected by the Board of Directors may be removed at any time by the affirmative vote of a majority of the Board of Directors present at any duly constituted meeting whenever in its judgment the best interests of the Association will be served thereby.

SECTION 4. A vacancy in any office by reason of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

VIII

POWERS AND DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Association. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors and of the members. He shall have general supervision, direction and active management of the business and affairs of the Association. He shall see that all orders or resolutions of the Board of Directors are carried into effect. He shall execute all contracts, deeds, bonds and other instruments in writing authorized by the Board of Directors. He shall have the general powers of supervision and management usually vested in the office of the President of an

association not for profit under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

SECTION 2. During the absence or disability of the President, the Vice Presidents, in the order designated by the Board of Directors shall exercise all the functions of the President. Each Vice-President shall have such powers and discharge such duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 3. The Treasurer shall have custody of all of the funds and securities of the Association. He shall take such steps as may be necessary to collect moneys becoming due to the Association. When necessary and proper he shall endorse on behalf of the Association all checks, notes or other obligations and evidences of the payment of money payable to the Association or coming into his possession, and shall deposit the funds arising therefrom, together with all other funds of the Association coming into his possession, in banks as may be selected as the depositaries of the Association, or properly care for them in such manner as the Board of Directors may direct. Whenever required by the Board of Directors or by the President so to do, he shall exhibit a complete and true statement of his cash account and of the securities and other property in his possession, custody and control. He shall enter regularly in the books belonging to the Association and to be kept by him for such purpose an accurate account of all money received and paid by him on account of the Association together with all other business transactions. He shall perform all duties which are incident to the office of Treasurer of an Association not for profit, subject, however, at all times to the direction and control of the Board of Directors and the President.

SECTION 4. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Association under the supervision of the President and the Board of Directors, including the permanent record of all minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors and of all minutes of meetings of the members, which minutes shall be signed by him as Secretary; he shall also keep the membership roll of the Association in the minute book of the Association setting forth the names of the members of the Association. He shall have charge of all such additional books and papers as the Board of Directors may direct. He shall in general perform all such duties as are incident to the office of a Secretary of an association not for profit under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

IX

Advisory Board: Editorial Board: Standing Committees

Section 1. There shall be an Advisory Board which shall consist of not more than thirty to be appointed annually by the Board of Directors who shall be primarily selected for their scholarship and prominence in the culture of Shakespeare, in his writings and in the performance of his plays.

Section 2. There shall be an Editorial Board which shall consist of a Chairman to be elected by the Board of Directors and four others to be appointed by the Board of Directors. It shall be in complete charge of the editing and publication of the bulletin of the Association. It shall report to the Board of Directors whenever so requested by the Board of Directors and may make such other reports as it may desire.

Section 3. There shall be a Nominating Committee which shall consist of three members, at least one of whom shall be a member of the Board of Directors. It shall elect its own Chairman. This Committee shall file with the Secretary at least three weeks before the time of the annual meeting, its nominations for members of the Board of Directors to be elected at such annual meeting.

Section 4. Each of the other Standing Committees shall consist of a Chairman who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors from its own members or from the Vice-Presidents, and such other members as shall be appointed by the Board upon the nomination of the Chairman of that Committee. The President shall ex-officio be a member of all such Committees.

Section 5. Each Standing Committee shall keep a record of its proceedings and subject to the approval of the Board, may adopt rules governing the general conduct of its business.

X

Section 1. The principal office of the Association shall be at 61 Broadway in the City of New York.

XI

Fiscal Year

Section 1. The fiscal and business year of the Association shall be the calendar year.

XII

Amendment To By-Laws

Section 1. These by-laws, or any of them may be altered, amended, or repealed by the vote of a majority of the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting.

HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER

(See Review, Page 291)